The Nation.

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The Week.

THE presentment made by the New Orleans Grand Jury on the events of the 14th of March in that city reads more like the report of a Committee of Public Safety than a legal narrative. The Grand Jurors devote themselves mainly to an exposure of the condition of the jury system in their city, and indict six men for "jury fixing"; but, although they find that the acquittal of the Italian assassins was a corrupt verdict, they indict none of the jurors who were "fixed." The attack on the jail on the 14th of March they dispose of very briefly. What they say about it is that, after the trial,

"Good citizens were profoundly impressed by the repeated and signal failures of justice. The arts of the perjurer and briber seemed to dominate in the courts, paralyzing and rendering powerless the ends of justice. Certainly, this was a desperate situation."

A meeting was thereupon called to discuss this desperate situation on the day in question. It "embraced several thousands of the first, best, and most law-abiding citizens of the city, who assembled, as is the right of American citizens, to discuss in public meeting questions of grave import." At that meeting "the determination was shown that the people would not submit to the surrender of their rights into the hands of midnight assassins or their powerful allies." The number of citizens participating in the demonstration is estimated at 6,000 to 8,000, and the Grand Jury pronounces it "a spontaneous uprising of the people," and says: "The magnitude of the affair makes it a difficult task to fix the guilt on any number of the participants; in fact, the act seemed to involve the entire people of the parish and city of New Orleans, so profuse is their sympathy, and so extended their connection with the affair." This, as we have said, is not a legal document. It is the apology of a political committee for an act of revolutionary violence committed by the entire population of a large city, and expressed in the inflated rhetoric in which such manifestoes are usually couched. We fear, therefore, it will not give Mr. Blaine much help in any further controversy he may have with the Marquis di Rudini.

Senator Quay's personal organ in Philadelphia, the *Inquirer*, publishes a leading article informing the President that he "ought to call off his son" from making further statements in his illustrated newspaper about Mr. Blaine, and Mr. Blaine's attitude towards the President, and the President's right to the authorship of Mr. Blaine's alleged ideas. "The combative attitude that young Mr. Harrison has assumed," says Mr. Quay's mouthpiece, "seems to indicate a fear that Blaine may prove a stumbling-block. The position taken by the young man is unquestionably a mistaken one. He should have confidence in Blaine, not distrust. He is taking the right course to force the Secretary to the front." This deliverance from Quay adds greatly to the interest of the Republican situation. The President is travelling over the country claiming in his speeches that he is the originator of all the ideas for which Mr. Blaine has been getting credit. The President's son is saying in his newspaper that not only is what his father says accurate and truthful, but that Mr. Blaine is willing to admit the same, and is so eager for his father to be renominated that he will not consent to have his name mentioned as a candidate. Now comes Quay, who elected Mr. Harrison President, and who is kept at the head of the National Republican Committee by the President's influence, and advises the President to "call off his son." Prince Russell ought to turn about now and advise his father to "call off" Quay.

There is nothing surprising in the report which comes from Ohio that the Republicans of that State are beginning to have doubts about the wisdom of running Mr. McKinley as their candidate for Governor. They begin to perceive that his candidacy would involve a large number of political complications, any one of which might prove fatal. In the first place, if he runs, it must be as the author of the McKinley tariff, and hence that tariff will be the chief issue of the campaign, making it necessary to defend high prices and denounce cheapness as un-American and nasty. In the second place, if Mr. McKinley were to be elected, he would at once become a formidable candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency next year, to the exclusion of all other Ohio aspirants and to the damage of the President and of Mr. Blaine, or whatever person shall be chosen to represent his reciprocity ideas. With McKinley as its Presidential candidate, the Republican party must go before the country on the McKinley tariff—that is to say, without any reciprocity to speak of either in its platform or its campaign.

The more the Ohio Republicans look at these conditions, the more they doubt. Are McKinley prices so popular in the State that a Republican victory with them as a battle-cry can be anticipated? That is the first question they ask, and its answer is not so favorable as they wish it was. Would other Presidential candidates in Ohio and elsewhere assist in lifting McKinley into formidable prominence as a Presidential candidate, or would they allow "apathy," or a "knife," or some other occult political influence to remove him from the national field through the medium of a State defeat? Would either the friends of the President or the champions of Blaine and Reciprocity, or Blaine and Business, be likely to exert themselves energetically for McKinley's success? These are questions which disseminate silence and gloom in all Republican circles in which they are raised. The chilling reception which the muzzled Republican press of the country gave to McKinley's "great speech" at the recent high-tariff banquet in this city, is cited as affording grounds for grave suspicion that he may be much too heavily loaded with uncertain issues to be a safe candidate to run for Governor this year.

The Republican leaders in Pennsylvania have succeeded in "fixing" the pending Ballot Bill so thoroughly that they are now willing it should pass the Senate. Its author says he disclaims it utterly, and would much rather see it defeated than passed. As it stands it furnishes a model of a Machine politician's idea of ballot reform. It makes 10,000 names necessary for an independent nomination for any State office. It requires all independent nomination papers to be filed three months in advance of election. These are, of course, nothing less than prohibitive provisions, and are meant to be such. They are correct samples of nearly all the changes which the Senate Committee has made, and their object is without doubt the destruction of the bill. There has never been any hope that Boss Quay and Mr. Cooper, ex-Chairman of the Republican State Committee, would allow the Republican majority in the Legislature to carry out the party's pledge to give the State genuine ballot reform. Both these leaders, who control the Legislature absolutely, have been outspoken against the reform, and the only doubt as to the Legislature's conduct has been as to the way in which the defeat would be accomplished.

A fresh proof of the incompetency of the modern legislator comes from Tennessee. During the recent session an attempt was made to amend the election laws so that they should apply to counties having a population of 50,000, but in the process the registration law was made to read, "having a voting population of 50,000." No county in the State has a "voting" population of 50,000, and, as a consequence, it is held that the registration law fails, and carries down with it the Dortch Secret-Ballot Law, because the latter law is based upon the existence of a registration law, and forbids a man to vote without showing his registration certificate. The blunder is ascribed to carelessness in engrossing and inattention on the part of members when the amendment came up for action. It is taken for granted that the Governor will have to call an extra session, as the error invalidates all the election laws of the State. What makes the matter worse is the fact that the preceding Legislature muddled the same subject, and had to be called together in special session to revise its

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work. It really looks as though law-making would soon be a lost art.

The temporizing policy of Bulkeley in the Connecticut lawsuit over the Governorship still goes on under a mask of legal subtlety and craft. What was evidently his original intention, of delaying the case by pleading directly no jurisdiction of the courts, had to be modified, owing to the Democratic outcry and the objections of the Merwin men. So instead last week he filed an answer which, while not raising the jurisdiction question regularly, seems to have raised it practically, and, besides, brought in certain questions of disputed fact which are likely to drag the suit through a lower court before it reaches the supreme tribunal of the State. As has been the case heretofore, Bulkeley was able also to force his policy on Merwin, whose meek conduct under the coercion of the hold-over Governor is a singular exhibition of political weakness. Indeed, the whole attitude of the Republicans, as a party, in the State is most discreditable. A few weeks ago, while the dispute was in the Legislature, they were clamoring to have it go to the Supreme Court for "advice." Now, after the Republican House has gone home and the Democrats have rushed the case to court in the form of a regular lawsuit, the Republicans, including Bulkeley, pettifog and act exactly as though they were afraid of the decision of a tribunal in which four out of five Judges confess the Republican faith.

The trustees of the Ohio State University are facing the old and difficult problem how to make their graduates, or at least a goodly proportion of them, turn farmers. One of the principal objects of the institution was the education of the sons of farmers with a view to filling the agricultural regions with an intelligent, educated race of men, who should be able to develop the resources of the land to the utmost; but nearly all of the students insist upon entering the professions. The trustees, at a meeting last week, decided to appoint a committee who should accompany the President on a visit to similar institutions in other States, and learn what they are doing to encourage the students to avoid the professions and devote themselves to agriculture. But there is little to hope from such a tour, for the same complaint is made from every agricultural college in the land.

One suggestion of interest, however, comes from the Ohio University. The Columbus correspondent of the Cincinnati *Times-Star* says that there has been a change in farming methods which opens better opportunities for educated young men. According to this authority, the financial straits of the small farmers have been throwing large tracts of land into the hands of capitalists who believe that the methods employed in large business enterprises can be successfully applied to agriculture. But this will involve the superintendence of these large holdings by men who are more than mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and here is believed to be an attractive opening for educated young men. One of the trustees is quoted as saying that he has one friend, a wealthy Cincinnatian, who owns 1,000 acres in Highland County, and who would gladly pay a man of the necessary qualifications to manage the property $2,000 a year besides his home and food; and another friend who owns seven farms, and who wants a man to take charge of them, and who would cheerfully pay $2,000 or $2,500 a year to some one who could take all the care of them off his shoulders and hand him the profits at the end of each year. This trustee says that if any young man will come to the University and acquire a thorough education in the advanced studies, and at the same time make a special study of agriculture, "I'll guarantee that he will not have to wait long for a well-paying position." If this is a correct view of the situation, it may be possible to draw young men back from the University to the farms. They certainly will not go unless there is a good prospect of "a well-paying position."

Those mysterious "American Tin Plate Works" are on the move again. The Philadelphia *Press* of Saturday has the news of the sudden appearance of them in two places. It publishes the telegram from Anderson, Ind., saying that a party of "Chicago capitalists closed a contract Friday night with an Elwood, Ind., land syndicate for the erection of a tin-plate factory at that place to employ 500 people. The plant is to be in operation by January 1, 1892." The *Press* precedes this joyful intelligence with a jubilant account of a similar development in its own city on Friday. "A great company," it says, "most of the incorporators of which are Philadelphians, has been organized and will soon be incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania for the purpose of the manufacture of tin and terne plates, black plate, taggers, and sheet steel, with a capital of $1,000,000, with the power to increase this capital. The Chairman of the Board of Directors of the new company is F. R. Phillips, who said last night that the mills will be located in the neighborhood of this city on one of the main lines. Four mills will be erected at first with a product of 2,000 boxes of finished plates per week, and it is proposed as soon as possible to increase the plant to twenty mills with a product of 10,000 boxes per week, or a total yearly product of 500,000 boxes." There is some indefiniteness about the exact location, but this is a peculiarity of the "works." They are almost invariably to be "near" some place or other. There is to be no chance for foreigners in this enterprise. "It is declared," says the *Press*, "that the company will be thoroughly American, and that no Welshman, unless he has become a naturalized American, will ever be allowed to be a stockholder. Neither will any Welsh or other alien employees be engaged, unless they are citizens, or have declared their intention of becoming citizens. It is also proposed to give skilled workmen a pro-rata percentage of the profits."

Purchasers of tin plate, meanwhile, will do well not to be deceived by advertised offers of "American tin plate," even when accompanied by a specimen of the tin, or a picture of "the works," both of which devices are being resorted to. There is no reason to believe that as yet "the works" anywhere consist of anything but a room, with a pot of solder, in which English steel or iron plates are dipped by an "old man and a boy." A picture of a factory is of no more value as proof that tin-making goes on inside than the hole the 'coon came out of was proof that the boy had killed the animal. The truth seems to be that the effect of the tariff on the morality of those whom it protects, is very like that of the horse on the character of the men who deal in that noble beast. No early training or even religious culture seems sufficient fortification against its insidious influence. It is, like the horse, full of defects and shortcomings, which have to be covered up somehow or anyhow, and the current kind of covering is bald lying. Hence the forged quotations, and the fables about the Cobden Club, and the semi-lunatical praise of dearness, and the curious concoctions about the tin-plate manufacture.

The agency of the railroad companies in promoting temperance is not generally appreciated. They employ 689,912 persons, not counting those who mine the coal and iron, make the rails or locomotives, or build the cars and carriages used by the road. The freight and passenger traffic of the country is practically controlled by 600 of these corporations, and of these 600 no fewer than 375 prohibit the use of intoxicating liquors by their employees, among the number being most of the largest companies. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers uses its influence in the same direction. "Whenever a member of the order is known to be dissipated," says Mr. Arthur, long the head of the organization, "we not only expel or suspend him, but notify his employers," and during the last year 375 members were expelled for this cause. This is only one illustration of the way in which practical business considerations are operating to promote the spread of temperance. It is purely a matter of business with the railroad companies. They simply cannot afford to employ a man who is liable any day to get drunk and precipitate some terrible disaster. In like manner other employers find that it pays them much better to hire a man who is not in the habit of drinking than one who may be intoxicated when his services are most needed, and between two applicants they give the preference to the one upon whom they can depend. The average workingman thus comes to see that it is "money in his pocket," in more senses than one, if he keeps out of the saloon; and the moral is not lost upon him.

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Presbyterians were looking forward to a peaceful and harmonious meeting of the General Assembly, at the end of this month. The report was given out that the committee on the revision of the Westminster Confession had unexpectedly been able to agree. Thus the burning question of last year's Assembly was to be quickly settled, and unpleasant doctrinal debates put to one side. But just about that time came the startling inaugural address of Prof. Briggs. It instantly buried the revision matter out of sight. The learned committee that had so carefully prepared their compromise report on the two or three points of sublimated theology in debate, saw their work forgotten—forgot it themselves, in fact—in the presence of the bold challenge of the Union Seminary professor. In place of theological quiddities, he brought sharply forward a question of fact: not whether this or the other logical inference could be made from an infallible record, but whether the record itself was infallible; not whether this or that theory of inspiration was the correct one, but whether the Church was to go on any longer with eyes shut to the revolution wrought by modern scholarship in every thinking man's conception of the Bible. No wonder that more than forty presbyteries should have already called for the suppression of the fearless questioner, that the denominational press should be filled with discussions of his case, and that action upon it is to be the main event at the Detroit gathering.

Prof. Briggs is no rash enthusiast courting martyrdom. There is method and a fixed purpose in his audacity. He himself was an opponent of revision of the official creed. This was partly due to his extremely conservative theology, if one can distinguish, as he seems to, between that and his Biblical scholarship, and partly to his belief that no revision practicable would be thorough enough to meet the case. His idea has been to let the creed alone, but to give an official sanction to the loose way in which it has been notoriously taken by many subscribers to it. In his "American Presbyterianism" he pointed out that this is the way in which the Church can constitutionally recognize progress in doctrine. The creed is subscribed to for "system of doctrine." Now, says the Professor, let the Church from time to time declare as to certain debated points whether they are consistent with the "system," and there you have the evolution of doctrine perfectly provided for without any need of formal revision. It seems clear to us that the decision must be against him. He will be stoned, and the next generation in his church will build his sepulchre. The time for the advance which he advocates has not yet come. He has a considerable avowed following, it is true, and a greater number of uncommitted sympathizers. Two professors in Lane Seminary and one in McCormick have ranged themselves by his side. Many of the younger ministry will vote to sustain or at least to tolerate him. But the large majority of his denomination is undoubtedly against him—in parts, bitterly against him. And we cannot doubt that the American Presbyterian Church will soon be able to claim the distinction already achieved by the Free Church of Scotland—that of having silenced its most learned professor.

The chief interest of the late "bye-elections" in England lies in the fact that they are considered to be, and are, an answer to the bid for votes made in Mr. Goschen's budget. As a general rule, a popular budget is one which not only shows a surplus, as his has done, but also makes some remission of taxes. In truth, the production of a surplus is apt to involve an English Minister of Finance in a sea of troubles, owing to the pressure of various interests for a lightening of their burdens. Mr. Goschen made a great blunder in the last session of Parliament by an attempt to treat a publican's license as a "vested interest," entitling him to compensation in case it were revoked for any other cause than misconduct, and he actually attempted to provide, by an increase of taxation on beer and spirits, a fund for such compensation. This was treated, and not unreasonably, as a bid for the liquor-dealers' vote at the general election supposed to be near at hand, but, after raising a storm of obloquy, the project was killed by a shrewd parliamentary objection interposed by "Tim" Healy. The gloom which this spread in the Conservative ranks was dispelled by Parnell's downfall and the resulting split among the Irish. This split, and the resulting cudgel play in Ireland, were considered the ruin of the Home-Rule cause and the complete and final discredit of the Gladstonians. The Tories, in accordance with Lord Salisbury's advice, all "put their money on Parnell," and felt very confident that the Irish constituencies would stick to him in a way that would definitively alienate the bulk of the Liberal party in England. But things did not fall out in this way. The Irish did not stick to Parnell, and when the Hartlepool election came round, to the astonishment of everybody a great Liberal victory proved that the Parnellite dissensions had made no serious impression on the Liberal vote.

Things were in this position when Mr. Goschen, on the 24th of April, introduced his budget. Every one expected that it would contain some feature intended to restore the Tory fortunes, and that it would probably be something outbidding the Radicals for the working-class vote—an old Tory device, already successfully practised in times of distress both by the late Lord Derby and by Lord Beaconsfield. But nobody, or very few, expected that it would be be a proposal to use the surplus in establishing absolutely free schools, because there is probably no one article in the Radical programme against which all the leading men of the Tory party were more thoroughly committed. They have nearly all denounced it on the stump, chief among them Mr. Goschen himself. But apparently both the Ministry and the Liberal Unionists have given way to the seeming necessity of the hour, and are preparing to go to the country with a proposal which is perhaps the most remarkable piece of tergiversation in their history. Coming from a party which has been greatly shocked by the immorality of Mr. Gladstone's change of mind on the Irish question, there is wonderful audacity in it. Mr. Goschen revealed the scheme on the 24th of April. The judgments of the constituencies on it began to come in ten days later. On the 6th of May the Liberals won the seat of Stowmarket, in Suffolk. On the 8th of May they cut down the Conservative majority of 991 at the last election in South Dorset to 40 on a much larger vote. Finally, on the 9th of May they won another seat in South Leicester, a Tory stronghold, by a majority of 489, also on a much larger vote, where they were defeated in 1886 by majority of 1,138—a succession of most disheartening disasters for the Conservatives.

The International Congress of Miners, held at Paris during the first week in April, was a body made up of ninety-nine delegates, representing 909,167 miners. Great Britain had forty-one delegates for 448,636 constituents, Germany eighteen for 141,531, Austria but one for 100,000, Belgium sixteen for 92,000, and France twenty-three for 127,000. The chief end of the gathering was the furthering of the project to secure an international agreement for an eight-hours' day. On all hands it was believed that the surest means was a general strike, or, at least, the threat of one. The main difference was over the question of the immediateness of such a strike. The Belgian delegates were for precipitate action, but the Englishmen were for cautious proceedings, and their views prevailed. Accordingly the resolutions ultimately adopted set forth the determination to order a strike of miners throughout Europe, if necessary, but first called upon Governments and Legislatures to set about securing international legislation of a special sort for miners, including the eight hours' day. Such special agreements had been given international effect, the resolutions argued, in the case of mails and the telegraph, as also in that of railroads and other forms of international communication. There was no reason why the same thing should not be sought in the interest of miners. Another resolution was adopted proclaiming the solidarity of miners throughout the world, and promising aid to the Belgians in their coming strike, by refusing to mine coal to be sent to Belgium, and in all other ways possible. The Committee on preparing a plan for an International Federation of Miners was continued, with instructions to report at the next Congress. In connection with this, we may mention a workingmen's convention held in Brussels April 5, which threatened a general strike throughout Belgium unless the Chambers should grant universal suffrage.

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AN INSTRUCTIVE PARALLEL.

THE New Orleans Grand Jury's account of the causes which led to the lynching of March, 1891, should be read in connection with the history of the Cincinnati riots of March, 1884. Nothing bears stronger evidence of the ease with which Americans forget even the most impressive events, than the fact that the New Orleans affair is almost universally spoken of as the first uprising of the kind in our national history. In many ways it was the duplicate of the Cincinnati disturbance. Its first cause was the same, the complete breakdown of the machinery of criminal justice, owing to the tampering of politicians and criminal lawyers with the jury system and the criminal laws. It is worth while to recall briefly the history of the Cincinnati riots in order that the closeness of the parallel may be seen.

On March 28, William Berner, who had made no less than seven confessions of his guilt in committing a most brutal murder, was convicted, after a long trial, of murder in the third degree, and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. The verdict was at once denounced as an outrageous miscarriage of justice. Judge Carter of the Court of Common Pleas of Cincinnati said at the time, that Berner escaped hanging by a "verdict acquired by the cunning and adroitness of lawyers known for their legal talent," and that they had succeeded because the "father of the murderer had $6,000 or $7,000 to spend." Scarcely had the result been published when a mass meeting of citizens to take action on the verdict was called to meet in Music Hall. Fully 10,000 people, including the most eminent and respectable citizens, assembled, and the meeting was called to order by one of the foremost physicians of the city. Speeches were made in which it was shown that during the eighteen years between 1866 and 1884 there had been only two convictions for murder in the county; that one of these had been of a negro, and that the sentence of the other murderer had been commuted to imprisonment for life; that there were at that moment no less than twenty-three murderers in the city jail who had not been brought to justice, and that this condition of affairs was due to a corrupted jury system and to the presence in the city of a large force of astute and unscrupulous criminal lawyers, who were working in connivance with political leaders to protect criminals from the penalties of their crimes. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the Berner verdict and the loose methods of criminal justice which had made it and other similar verdicts the rule, and appointing a committee of fifty to report at a second meeting a plan for correcting the evils complained of.

The assemblage refused to wait for the second meeting. During the proceedings there had been repeated cries of "Hang the jury!" "Burn the jail!" "Hang Tom Campbell!" The latter was the leading criminal lawyer, and had been Berner's counsel. He was a political power in the community, for reasons similar to those which make men of the same type "powers" in any great city. As soon as the meeting adjourned, the crowd, composed mainly of laboring men, but embracing men of good character and orderly habits of life, organized itself into a mob and started for the city jail. On the way they broke into a blacksmith's shop and obtained instruments for breaking down the doors. They assaulted the jail, but found it well guarded, first by police and afterwards by the militia, which was called out for its protection. The latter fired upon the crowd, killing and wounding many innocent people. On the next night a second and much more formidable riot broke out, in which all the most disorderly elements of the population joined. Their point of attack this time was the County Court-house. They rolled barrels of coal oil against the sides of it, and threw dynamite bombs through the windows, setting fire to it, and burning it to the ground, destroying many valuable records and documents. They were repeatedly fired upon by the militia, and many more people were killed and wounded. The riot broke out again on the third night, and yet more people had to be killed before the city became quiet. In all about 50 people were killed and 120 wounded.

In their report upon the riots the Cincinnati Grand Jury said in May following that they had been caused by a popular belief that the administration of justice in the courts had been blocked by the bribing and "fixing" of jurors to meet the designs of politicians and criminal lawyers, and that this nefarious work had been assisted by the conduct of the so-called good citizens in avoiding jury duty. Fifty-four persons were indicted, including "Tom" Campbell.

It will be seen that the causes in New Orleans and Cincinnati were practically identical. They arose in both cases from the pernicious activity of the political and criminal forces in the community on the one hand, and the indifference and carelessness of the respectable elements of the community on the other. In both cities the point was reached at which evils whose existence had been known and tolerated for years became intolerable, and the only way in which the crisis could be met was by a resort to the methods of barbarism. Is it necessary to point out that many other American cities are travelling the same dangerous path to-day, with the same indifference? In how many of them is the machinery of criminal justice kept free from the corrupting touch of politics? Look at our system in New York, with our "Mikes" on the police justice bench, and our "Barneys" in charge of the jury lists, and with Tammany's gang of semi-criminals in charge of every department of the city government. Are we prepared to sit still until the time comes when we shall have nothing left to turn to, to set us right, except a mob? And if we were to resort to a mob, would our best citizens be able to control it? What is the condition of Boston, so far as its police and criminal classes are concerned? Gov. Russell tried to break the obvious and notorious connection tween the two, but the whole power of the Republican party in the State was used to prevent him, and succeeded. Is Boston prepared to go on tolerating its evils till they become intolerable and the mob point is reached? Are other cities prepared to do the same? If so, then we ought to turn our attention to the invention of some system of regularizing mob law. Why not fix a public holiday once a year, to be called Mob Day, for the assemblage of a reformatory mob and the selection of politicians and criminal lawyers to be shot or hanged, and of houses to be wrecked and gunshops to be plundered?

MR. BLAINE'S TU-QUOQUES.

MR. BLAINE'S last despatch to Lord Salisbury on the Bering Sea question has been published, but contains nothing new except a *tu-quoque* in the shape of a recent statute of Great Britain (1889) regulating the mode of fishing within the great bay on the northeast coast of Scotland, between Duncansby Head in Caithness and Rattray Point in Aberdeenshire, "comprising an area of 2,700 square miles of ocean on the coast of Scotland." He accepts Lord Salisbury's proposed points of arbitration, with a few unimportant modifications, so that on the general subject there is nothing more to be said.

Nothing in this controversy has brought out so strikingly his ignorance or fatuity—one cannot tell which, owing to the presence of the "North American Commercial Company" in the background—as his *tu-quoques*. They have been from the beginning veritable curiosities. He assumes that any British statute prohibiting anything on the high seas is meant to be applied to foreigners if foreigners are not expressly exempted. The presumption in all civilized countries is exactly the other way. All municipal statutes are presumed, as a matter of course, to apply only to the subjects or citizens of the Power which makes them. Consequently, an act of the British Parliament cannot control foreigners on the high seas, whether it mentions them or not.

This point did not need judicial settlement, but it received it just seventy-five years ago in the *St. Louis* case, where a Frenchman whose ship had been seized as a slave-trader by a British cruiser, got damages against the commanding officer in the British Court of Admiralty, Lord Stowell laying down the law—which is law still—that no act of Parliament can overrule the law of nations. Consequently, when a British act of Parliament says that "no person" shall do so and so, it means, as a matter of course, no subject of her Majesty Queen Victoria, just as the American statutes regulating the Alaska fisheries, when they say "all persons," or "no persons," mean citizens of the United States. This rule applied to the St. Helena *tu-quoque*, and also to the Australian pearl-fishery *tu-quoque*, as well as to the Scotch *tu-quoque*. They are all ridiculous. If any American ship had been seized for "hovering" eight leagues from the shore of St. Helena, the captain of the cruiser would have been cast in damages in the British Court of Admiralty, and the ship returned to the owners. If any foreign vessel were now seized for violation of

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the Australian statutes regulating ocean pearl fisheries, or for violating the British statutes regulating Scotch high-sea fisheries, the same result would follow.

Mr. Blaine does not cite the Australian statutes at first hand, but simply quotes a vague reference to them from a book of Sir George Baden-Powell's. The Australian Act of the Federal Council to which Mr. Blaine has referred, of August 18, 1890, regulating open-sea fisheries on the coast of West Australia, is careful to state that "this act applies only to British ships and boats attached to British ships." The "similar act" to which he refers, as having been passed by Queensland in 1888, but which he does not specifically describe, and which cannot be found in the Queensland statutes, is, if it exists, probably the same as the Queensland fishing statute of 1886, amending a statute of 1881, which simply declares that "*pearl and bêche-de-mer fishing shall be unlawful within the colony of Queensland, or within one league to seaward from any part thereof, without a license.*"

One does not well know what to say of a Secretary of State who sticks to these childishnesses through thick and thin. The journalistic geese who follow his lead and applaud him, are more easily described.

If any civilized Power were to put in its statutes an express claim of jurisdiction over foreigners on the high seas, we do not believe it would call forth anything but smiles from other nations. No other government would take the trouble to protest against it, as long as no attempt was made to enforce it. Down to the reign of George IV., the King of England described himself officially, even on his coins, as "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland," but Frenchmen did not concern themselves about his claim as long as he did not try to make it good. In like manner, the King of Sardinia, down to the establishment of the Italian kingdom, called himself "King of Sardinia, Cyprus, and Jerusalem," but the rest of the world let the thing pass as a good mediæval joke. They would treat British or American municipal legislation expressly asserting the right to control foreigners on the high seas, or in foreign territory, with similar indifference.

This, too, explains the indifference with which the Czar's 100-mile ukase about Bering Sea was treated. As long as no vessels were seized under it—and none were seized—the maritime Powers ignored it utterly. It probably pleased the Czar and did them no harm. All departures from the rule of the freedom of the seas, even as regards the slave-trade, have to be settled by joint agreement. Nobody but a pirate is on the high seas subject to every country's jurisdiction, because he is held to be an enemy of the human race. These are things which ought, apparently, to be taught in primary schools, for some of us seem to find them so hard to comprehend that instruction in them cannot begin too early. Mr. Blaine has given the *Tribune* a map illustrating the Scotch *tu-quoque*, a performance which is worthy of *Puck*, for it is in that journal that the map ought to have appeared. The production of an engraved diagram to illustrate one's own ignorance is something new in comedy.

TAXATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

In the determined efforts recently made in New York and New Jersey to introduce more rigorous systems of taxation, great stress was laid by the supporters of the proposed measures upon the example of Massachusetts. It is interesting, therefore, to learn that a vigorous attempt to reform the system prevailing in that State is now going on, the principles of the desired reform being stated in the report of a commission on taxation appointed by the Mayor of Boston. While the Commissioners could hardly be expected to adduce new arguments upon so well-worn a theme, they have certainly succeeded in stating their case with so much clearness and force as to deserve universal attention.

The burden of taxation in Boston is not a light one, amounting for municipal purposes to nearly $38 *per caput*, exclusive of revenue derived from licenses and miscellaneous resources. In spite of the severity of the law, and of its execution, about three-fourths of the revenue raised by taxation comes from real estate, and if all personal property were exempt, the rate of taxation on land would be little more than $17 per thousand of the assessed valuation. The Commissioners are decidedly of the opinion that it would be expedient to confine taxation to real estate, considering that the encouragement given to manufactures and commerce by this policy would very soon render the burden upon land no heavier than it is at present. They declare that many industries have been driven out of Boston by the present laws, and that many which would have come there have thought it safer to go elsewhere. Boston, they say, "is avoided like a house guarded by a savage dog. It is true that one may not be bitten; but it is pleasanter to go where the dog is not so fierce."

The Commissioners, however, do not propose to abolish all taxation upon personal property, but devote their attention to an extremely plain statement of the case against double taxation. They point out that the city of Boston, whose credit is beyond all suspicion, and we may add is sustained by decisions that make all the property of its inhabitants security for its corporate indebtedness, could borrow at a rate of interest one-half of one per cent. lower than it now pays, if its bonds were not subject to taxation when held by its own citizens. This saving would amount to $250,000 a year, while the whole amount of town and city bonds included in the sworn returns to the assessors for 1890 is $384,000, upon which the tax is less than $5,000. In short, the municipalities of Massachusetts compel themselves to borrow of non-residents by threatening their own citizens with a deduction from the interest stipulated in their bonds. Residents of Massachusetts, therefore, invest in the bonds of foreign municipalities by preference, as it is easier for them to conceal the possession of such securities.

It may be laid down as substantially true that the rate of interest paid by safe investments is determined without reference to the taxation of income arising from this source. Such income is very generally taxable, but only exceptionally taxed. Were it otherwise the net return upon such investments would be to residents in many of our cities less than 2 per cent. In the language of the Commissioners:

"The holder of a 4 per cent. bond of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, *if he is taxed*, pays the tax out of his own pocket, because his being taxed is an accident. It is not a payment under the universal law of trade, but a piece of ill luck, like having his pockets picked of the same sum. The risk of such accidents is greater in Massachusetts than anywhere else, because our system is more ingenious and greater vigilance is exercised. The risk in New York and Chicago is much less. In Philadelphia there is no risk at all. . . . If all civilized nations were able to and did tax the lender on every railroad bond in the world $15 a thousand, there is no doubt that the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad would have to pay about one and one-half per cent. above the present average interest rates. While London and Berlin, New York and Philadelphia stand ready to lend the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad at 4 per cent., that railroad will not pay 5½ per cent. to a citizen of Massachusetts who wants the extra 1½ per cent. because he may be taxed."

Upon the subject of double taxation in the case of evidences of debt, the Commissioners use some illustrations which ought to make the matter plain to the humblest wayfaring man. They might very well be employed by teachers in the public schools, and are fitted to be of so much service in laboring with the benighted that we quote them for the convenience of such of our readers as are animated by the missionary spirit. Public opinion is more affected by arguments of this kind, perhaps, than by more elaborate disquisitions:

"To test the justice of the taxation of a piece of paper, such as a note, bond, or certificate of stock, we recommend the following experiment:

"Let the experimenter take a ten-dollar gold piece in his left hand. Let him write an I. O. U. ten dollars, and hold it in his right hand. Then exchange the two—get the gold piece in the right hand and the I. O. U. in the left.

"Are you ten dollars richer by this process? Are you rich enough in consequence to pay two taxes instead of one?

"Try the experiment with a friend. Let him hand you his I. O. U., and you hand him the gold. Are you two any richer? Do you two become able by this process to pay two taxes?

"Call in a third man. Hand him your I. O. U. for ten dollars, and your neighbor's I. O. U. for ten dollars as collateral. Are you three able, in consequence, to pay three taxes on the original ten dollars?"

When the law has once provided for the taxation of all land and all tangible personal property, it is obvious that further taxation of liens or claims upon such real and personal property is double taxation. It is undeniable that taxation of this kind is earnestly defended by many well-meaning men, who sincerely believe that the holders of evidences of debt who do not pay taxes upon them escape taxation altogether. But it is not true, as often said, that a large amount of personal property wholly escapes taxation; it is only true that it escapes the double taxation which the law attempts. The mistake is due to a confusion of thought arising out of the some

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what mysterious functions of money and credit, and will probably continue until correct notions upon these subjects are generally accepted.

But there is a form of double taxation in Massachusetts which is indefensible upon any principle except that of the brute force of the State. If a resident of Massachusetts owns tangible personal property situated in another State, he must pay taxes upon it to Massachusetts, on the legal theory that personal property follows the residence of the owner, although he has also paid taxes on it where it was situated. But if the State of Massachusetts finds within its borders tangible personal property belonging to a non-resident, it taxes it upon the theory that it has not followed the residence of its owner. There is no confusion of thought about this, no mystification arising from the nature of *choses in action*, nothing but the bald fact that certain specific things shall pay twice the tax paid by other things of the same kind. This abuse is denounced by the Commissioners with appropriate severity.

In this respect other States are sinners as well as Massachusetts, but there is one iniquity peculiar to the law of that State. There has been provision since colonial days for the taxation of incomes arising from a profession, trade, or employment, but with the restriction that income derived from property subject to taxation shall be exempt. A comparatively recent decision, however, has declared this law to mean that a merchant is to be taxed not only on his stock in trade—without any deduction for his indebtedness therefor—but also for a part, if not the whole, of the income that he makes out of this stock, this income being supposed to be "derived" from the industry and skill of the merchant. It is hardly necessary to say that the merchants of Massachusetts do not concur with the Supreme Court, and commit what is technically perjury with clear consciences.

The abuses attacked by this Commission are inveterate, and it is not to be expected that they will be soon cured. Yet as, after a severe struggle, the taxation of mortgages on Massachusetts real estate has been done away with, there is nothing unreasonable in the hope that all forms of double taxation may yet be abolished. The example of Massachusetts is at present a hindrance and discouragement to reform in other States; and a recognition by her people of the injustice of their present laws would greatly stimulate those who are endeavoring elsewhere to make taxation more equitable in its methods and its incidence. This report is a step forward which indicates the existence of a sentiment likely to increase and eventually prevail.

PROFESSOR HILGARD.

JULIUS ERASMUS HILGARD, late Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey, who died in Washington on Friday, was born at Zweibrücken, Bavaria, January 7, 1825, and came to America with his father in 1835. The elder Hilgard, Theodor Erasmus, was a jurist of note in his own country, and devoted much of his leisure to belles-lettres. He settled with his family on a farm near Belleville, St. Clair County, Illinois, and was the first to introduce viticulture into the State. More important was his discovery, after careful experimentation with foreign vines, that the indigenous Catawba grape not only was best suited to the climate of the region, but was capable of producing wine of satisfactory quality. He gave personal attention to the education of his children, whom he instructed in languages and philosophy. Each of the sons, Julius, Theodore, and Eugene, has since attained honorable distinction.

The subject of this sketch began the study of engineering at Philadelphia in 1843, and two years later entered the service of the United States Coast Survey, then directed by the distinguished administrator, Alexander Dallas Bache. This organization, like most of our official scientific bureaus, was developed from a germ represented by a few lines in annual appropriation bills, which gave opportunity and scope to some person of genius. Such were Hassler and Bache, Henry and Baird, Gillis, Maury, and Hayden, to cite only some of those who have passed over to the majority. It is difficult to say whether such scientific success as has been reached by the Coast Survey, the Smithsonian Institution, the Fish Commission, the Naval Observatory, and the Geological Survey, could have been finally attained in any case, had the new-born infant been swaddled in so much red tape and hampered by such legal restrictions as are now thought necessary for the developed bureau. The presumption is against it; at all events there can be no doubt that, to the freedom of action left to the executive officer, with the opportunity for unlimited experiment in methods, control in promotion of subordinates, and the general exercise of expert judgment untrammelled by rules, is due the speed with which success has crowned the work of all of the above-mentioned organizations. Each represents the crystallized energies and life-work of some one or two leaders. The danger in each case lay in the changes inevitable at the death of the leader. If he had no competent and worthy successor, the very features leading to scientific success would afford an easy transition to degeneration and decay. It is a matter of history that, on the foundations laid in defiance of all obstacles by the audacious self-confidence of Hassler, the genius of Bache erected an organization whose world-wide reputation renders eulogy unnecessary.

A prime factor in securing the best endeavors of every subordinate was the explicit recognition of his particular services on every copy of the completed chart or in every annual report. No service, involving skill of brain or hand, was too humble for acknowledgment. Promotion was not attained by examinations or by favor, but by the tests of results in the work of the Survey. It rested with the Superintendent to raise the rate of pay, within certain limits, and it did not detract from the pleasure afforded by the approbation of the chief, to have it accompanied by an increase, even of a trifling sum, in the monthly remuneration. The system was avowedly lax in certain ways: men were supposed to be gentlemen, and not potential thieves; work was largely done "on honor." Faultless it was not; human nature in the Survey was much like human nature elsewhere. Grumbling and laziness were not unknown; but, all allowances made, the scientific world knows and has approved the results. Bache seemed to inspire his young men with a personal affection and something of his own genius for work.

Into this environment came young Hilgard. He began, like other civilians, at the bottom of the ladder, upon a temporary footing, as the original structure of the organization contemplated the survey of the coast by officers of the army and navy temporarily detailed to report to the Superintendent, and assisted by such civilians as were required from time to time. The continuity of work necessary to the attainment of the best scientific training was on this account possible only to the civilians in the service. By a process of selection from these, a small but able corps of workers gathered about Bache, among whom Hilgard soon took an honorable place, both as a student of his profession and in an executive capacity. He was enthusiastic, an indefatigable worker, alert in the recognition of all that was valuable in new methods, and, from his linguistic proficiency and wide reading, thoroughly informed on the progress of geodesy and engineering in foreign lands. A certain inborn mannerism of speech and gesture often impressed unfavorably persons whose knowledge of him was but superficial, but counted for nothing with those who were able to read more deeply the true character of the man.

The outbreak of the rebellion withdrew from the survey all military and naval officers, and checked on a large portion of the coast the progress of the ordinary work. A new and serious demand upon its resources arose which has been realized by few except those professionally engaged. Except to the Coast Survey men, the Southern coast, apart from a few harbors, was practically unknown. The charts were mostly still in manuscript. They must be kept out of the hands of the enemy and his blockade-runners, but the fleet must be supplied with quantities of transcripts. Coast-Survey men took soundings under fire on the bars from which the aids to navigation had been removed, and, as pilots, carried the men-of-war under the guns of Fort Fisher and led the fleet into Port Royal. The direction of the work was responsible, heavy, incessant; the anxiety, watchfulness, and care not less wearing than for the commander of an army corps. As one strong man after another went out into the field from the office, in time it came to Hilgard to act as principal executive officer to his chief under the designation of "assistant in charge of the office." At last the fine organization of Bache gave way under the strain. In 1863 a cloud settled upon his mind which never was lifted. Meanwhile Hilgard did double duty, inspired by equal loyalty to his country and his dying chief. As in time it became known that the state of Bache offered no hope of recovery, the question of a successor began to be discussed. We have learned from excellent authority that representations were made privately to Hilgard, with the assent of the appointing power, to the effect that the position was his if he chose to ask it. His answer was that he understood that the family of Bache were to some extent dependent on the salary of the Superintendent, and that, so long as Bache lived, he would do nothing which would prevent them from having it. Honorable to his friendship and disinterestedness as this course was, it cost him dear. Bache lingered through four weary years. At his death, long anticipated, several strong candidates were in the field, and, after an indecisive struggle of some length, all parties acquiesced in the appointment of Benjamin Peirce as the best method of restoring harmony.

Meanwhile the scientific abilities of Hilgard

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and the results of his work had met with the approval of men of science. His work lay directly in the line of his profession, in the improvement of methods, the determination of weights and measures, and the novel method of ascertaining the differences of longitude by telegraph. His publications on these subjects are to be found chiefly in the Coast Survey Reports. One of the most noteworthy relates to the telegraphic determination of the differences of longitude between Greenwich, Paris, and Washington. He was a delegate to the International Metric Commission in 1872, and a member of the International Bureau of Weights and Measures of which he declined the directorship. He was an original member of the National Academy of Sciences, and for some years its Home Secretary. In 1874 he was elected President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He succeeded to the work of Bache in connection with the work of the Bureau of Weights and Measures, and took a leading part in preparing exact metric standards for distribution to the States and Territories.

The appointment of another, however worthy, when Peirce resigned the superintendency, was, without doubt, a severe disappointment to Hilgard. He already suffered physically from overwork, and death invaded his household, always tenderly united. However, he kept busy at his old post, in spite of weakness, grief, and adverse fortune. After the death of Mr. Patterson in 1881, he was appointed Superintendent, and, for a time, the tardy recognition seemed to give him new life. But his strength was broken, he suffered cruelly at times, and to those about him it was evident that his working days were nearly over. On the political changes of 1884, and their consequences to the Coast Survey, we shall not dwell. Those events are too recent to be impartially discussed. For Hilgard, prostrated by illness at the time, the severance of his relations with the organization to which he had devoted his life, was a crushing blow. The end, long in coming, was awaited with marvellous patience and met with Christian resignation.

The characteristics of the man partook somewhat of his father's poetic temperament. This sometimes led him, if his sympathies were excited, into hasty and ill-advised participation in other people's controversies. Thus he raised opponents and laid obstacles in his own path. The same element in his character was, however, responsible for the kindly charitable and self-sacrificing actions which, to those intimate with him, were known to adorn his unpretentious daily life. To this also may be ascribed the almost quixotic way in which he was known sometimes to aid the fortunes of his most active professional rivals; as if he had forgotten that self-preservation is the first law of nature. Now that death has swept away the fog of controversy, few of his former subordinates will be able to forget the kindness and consideration for their personal welfare characteristic of his administration, or to approve the manner in which that administration was brought to a close.

HERNE'S "MARGARET FLEMING."

BOSTON, May 10, 1891.

OF very much greater significance than the occasional presentation of an Ibsen play, whose momentary success as an exotic might be accounted for by the curiosity of the reading people of this continent to see for themselves what so stirred another, is the writing and presentation here of a native play of quite as advanced a type. This is what Boston has been witnessing during the past week, and will probably be able to do for a fortnight longer; for, although Chickering Hall is small, and his play appeals to a very limited audience, Mr. Herne has fortunately received enough encouragement already to extend his announced week to two.

His play was declared in advance by several critics to be far beyond the ordinary, Mr. Howells speaking with especial enthusiasm of it, and Mr. Barrett Wendell even writing a letter, in the daily of the Harvard students, to say that no one who was really interested in the stage could afford to miss hearing it. As a result, Mr. Herne's audiences have been exceedingly good ones, scholarly, interested, and critical, in spite of their numerical smallness. It is a pity for our stage that we have no Théâtre Libre, as Mr. Herne has just lamented in an after-dinner speech. No theatre-going public is less concerned than ours with serious drama, and no managers are so ready as the American to pander to bad taste with new extravagances of buffoonery. The "drama of the future," no doubt, will not be a paying venture at first, and a manager can scarcely be blamed for following the secure road of the present; but it is none the less a pity that a man who puts conscience and thought into his play should be compelled to produce it on the inadequate stage of a small concert-hall, and this is what Mr. Herne has had to do, in the absence of any small theatre, devoted to originality, where his talent might find a setting as well as a hearing.

The play itself is an attempt to dramatize the ordinary life of the American home—though the home selected is none of the happiest. Mr. Herne had previously written a play called "Drifting Apart," whose originality was hampered by the demands of melodramatic convention. In "Margaret Fleming" convention is cast to the winds, with a novelty of result that is inconceivable. The story is a familiar one. *Philip Fleming*, a manufacturer, is a small-witted, sensual man, luxuriously fond of his fine wife, his baby, and his home, yet beginning after his marriage, and with no compunction, a fresh liaison with a German mill-girl. The play opens with the crisis of this girl's motherhood before him, as well as an embarrassment with his creditors. In both extremities he acts with cowardice and meanness. The wrong towards the girl he tries to smother in her and himself with money; he anticipates his insolvency by settling his property on his wife and child. The wife, one of the high-minded women whose marriage to worthless men is a common source of surprise, refuses with handsome scorn to be a dishonest beneficiary, and spiritedly exacts of her husband that he shall meet his debts if he has to sell his house. This trouble she looks lightly upon; but she is not to be spared. The girl betrayed by her husband is dying; and *Mrs. Fleming*, at the request of her maid, the girl's sister, goes to visit her bedside, both being in ignorance of the betrayer's identity. Once there, there is the inevitable disclosure, which acts with such dreadful effect upon *Mrs. Fleming* that an hereditary trouble of her eyes is suddenly turned by the shock into total blindness. She sends for her husband, who arrives upon the scene just as she is preparing to give suck to the famished child of the dead woman—a climax as tragic as any that ever was put upon the stage.

Two additional acts add little to the strength of the piece. *Fleming*, with characteristic cowardice, has run away from home and taken to drink, emerging, much chastened, from a hospital where he has been brought by brain-fever. The wife's blindness is followed by temporary insanity; and, on her discharge from the asylum, her child and husband have both disappeared. (It is but just to add that this is told, not acted, on the stage.) The child has been stolen, out of revenge, by the German nurse-girl, who is leading it a life of misery in the North End; and its subsequent recovery involves the bringing of husband and wife together again in a police station, where the latter, without bitterness, but without emotion, refuses to return to a marriage which she declares, "without having asked the assent of Church or State," to be dissolved, and delivers a forcible, if somewhat gratuitous, lecture on unchastity to her contrite husband.

This is the story, very briefly. Action, as we understand it on the stage, is absolutely wanting; situations, almost wholly. Yet the interest is intense. The scenic accompaniment—the absence of supernumeraries—was naïf almost to a comical degree; but it detracted little from the interest in the play itself—a real interest, because the play was real. Its language was that of every-day life, the lines of the wife and the doctor alone having anything declamatory in them. It had, too, not only the verisimilitude, but the terrible frankness of speech called out by a great moral stress—all the indignation of outraged integrity and the cringings of cowardice; it was not pruned for recital. A comic element, in the person of a philosophic peddler, *Joe Fletcher*, the nurse girl *Maria's* husband, was well rendered, even if superfluously, by the author; while the part adds nothing necessary to the story, this compound of Sam Slick and Jacques Strop is a most accurate character study in himself.

The modern drift towards realism was noticeable all through in minor touches—the scene at the telephone, where *Fleming's* wife is supposed to be holding up the baby at the other end for him to talk to in his office; the itinerant sidewalk vender; the North End store, with its wretched customers; and the fine touch of the visiting lady from the "Fresh Air" Committee. But a more striking example of the gap between the ancients and the moderns is the part which the doctor plays in this piece. To be sure, in our modern plays, the medical profession is seldom treated with disrespect, and a better tribute to its humane tendency since the cupping and blood-letting era could scarcely be asked; but in Mr. Herne's play the doctor becomes something more—he is the moral adviser, the spiritual consoler, by virtue of his gentle calling. He points out the cringing *Fleming's* duty to him in language more forcible than agreeable; he soothes the sick wife, and would save her, if he could, from her misery, before and after the tragedy. In short, he shows how completely we have left the past where Doctor Pangloss exemplified the popular distrust of his profession, and some platitudinous old Vicar (the *deus ex machinâ* to calm the jarring elements) the respect paid to his. In this play there is no reference to the clergy, or even to God, except where *Mrs. Fleming*, as before quoted, denies that either can bind her to a marriage dissolved *per se*.

In acting, Mrs. Herne easily bore off first honors. Her home-life, with her husband, with her baby, with her maid, was the picture of a sweet wife and a good mother. Her reproach to her husband for his shifty money-dealing was simple and earnest; but the never-to-be-forgotten scene in the house of the dead girl, her magnificent dignity and forced composure under her sufferings, her skill in

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dealing with her superserviceable doctor and infuriated maid, while herself almost distraught, and the pathos of her maternal yielding to the cries of her husband's starving bastard, was masterly. Her voice is a very beautiful one, not unlike Bernhardt's (to whom, by the way, she has a slight facial resemblance). Mr. Herne's *Joe Fletcher* was unctuous and amusing, Mr. Carter's *Dr. Larkin* very spirited, and the remainder of the company acted at least with earnestness.

Whatever may be said of the necessity for reshaping "Margaret Fleming," of its unfitness to be presented on the great stage—at least of its undoubted unsuitability as food for the "young person"—of its total lack of resemblance to anything ever played before, it marks, none the less, the beginning of a new epoch in the American stage, the success or failure of which the next generation will know.

L. McK. G.

TALLEYRAND'S MEMOIRS.—V.

PARIS, April 29, 1891.

THE second volume of the Memoirs of Talleyrand ends with the Congress of Vienna, and this period may be considered as the test of the abilities of the famous diplomat. Hitherto, his task had been somewhat easy, as he had nothing to do but to consolidate the effect of great victories won by Napoleon. Now he represented France vanquished and invaded; he fortunately represented also a principle which helped him to make an appeal to the feelings of all the sovereigns—the principle of legitimacy.

He arrived in Vienna on the 23d of September, 1814, and immediately called on all the members of the diplomatic body. He saw Lord Castlereagh, Prince Hardenberg, Humboldt, Nesselrode, Metternich, Gentz. He was long and deliberate in taking his position. At the first sitting of the Congress, Prince Metternich and Prince Hardenberg spoke of the intentions of the *allied* Powers. He interrupted them with some warmth: "Allies," exclaimed he, "and against whom? Not against Napoleon, he is at Elba. . . . It cannot be against France, peace is signed. . . . It cannot be against the King of France, he is the guarantor of this peace. Gentlemen, let us speak with frankness; if there are still allied Powers, I have no place here." And, after a moment, he added: "And still, if I were not here, I should be much missed. I am, perhaps, the only one here who will ask nothing. I only claim much consideration for France. . . . The presence of a minister of Louis XVIII. consecrates here the principle on which reposes all social order. The greatest need of Europe is the banishment of the opinion that you can gain rights by mere conquest, and a revival of the sacred principle of *legitimacy*, which is the fountain of order and of stability."

It is necessary to show what Talleyrand meant exactly by the principle of legitimacy, because he did not understand it in the narrow sense in which it is often understood by the French Legitimists. He says in his Memoirs (vol. ii., p. 159): "I speak of the legitimacy of governments in general, whatever their form may be, and not of the legitimacy of kings alone, for it ought to apply to all governments. A legitimate government, whether it is monarchical or republican, hereditary or elective, aristocratic or democratic, is always the government of which the existence, the form, and the mode of action are consolidated and consecrated by a long succession of years, and I should like to say by a secular possession." It is only in consequence of this principle that, in an hereditary monarchy, the right of succession is confined to the persons of the reigning family; so much so that Machiavelli, in his 'Prince,' says "that the usurper can only establish solidly his power after he has taken the lives of all the members of the family which ruled by legitimacy."

When Talleyrand made an eloquent appeal at Vienna to the principle of legitimacy, he knew that he should touch a very sensitive chord and procure allies among the sovereigns. Saxony was in the hands of Prussia, and the Prussians meant to keep it; it was with the greatest difficulty that they gave it back to the King of Saxony, only obtaining from the King the voluntary cession of a portion of his territory. Talleyrand was chosen, with Metternich and the Duke of Wellington, as a deputation to persuade the King of Saxony, who was living at Pressburg, to make this cession. Russia, on her part, intended to keep the whole Duchy of Warsaw, but, through Talleyrand's influence, she renounced her pretensions. Prussia recovered a large portion of the Duchy, and Austria a few districts. "Poland," says Talleyrand, "remaining almost entire in the hands of Russia, would have been an object of continual uneasiness for Europe. It was important for its safety that two Powers, instead of one, always liable to lose what they possessed, should be, by the sentiment of a common danger, disposed to unite themselves on all occasions against the ambitious pretensions of Russia. The same interest became the strongest tie between them, and it is for this reason that France stood in this case by Prussia and Austria." What was to become of the kingdom of Naples, which Napoleon had given to Murat? Talleyrand could not abandon his principle of legitimacy in this case, and therefore he was obliged to abandon Murat. The kingdom was restored to Ferdinand IV. Switzerland was proclaimed independent and for ever neutral.

Notwithstanding all the disadvantages of France's position at the time, her representative succeeded in acquiring such an ascendancy in the deliberations that the most important questions were, partly at least, decided according to her views and her principles. During the Hundred Days and the ephemeral return of Napoleon, Louis XVIII., though he was at Ghent, exercised the same influence at Vienna as if he had been at the Tuileries. At Talleyrand's request, Europe made a solemn declaration against the usurper. "I called him so because that is what he was after his return from Elba." The final acts of the Congress having been signed, Talleyrand left Vienna for Ghent, and, on his arrival at Brussels, he learned the news of the battle of Waterloo from the mouth of the Prince de Condé.

The closing portion of the second volume of the Memoirs is filled with Talleyrand's correspondence at Vienna. His letters to Louis XVIII. relating his conversation with the Emperor Alexander are the most interesting of all. He had a singular ability in relating all the striking parts of a conversation and in summing up its conclusions. This part of the Memoirs, however, has been a little deflowered by the numerous works which have been published of late since the doors of our archives have been opened. The documents now published have been compared with the documents kept in our archives, and their coincidence has been well established; the only differences which could be pointed out are slight. Talleyrand employed secretaries, he corrected his despatches, he attached great importance to small shades of expression. It is not at all singular that the notes which he preserved for himself should show a trace of his changes; but, I repeat, the changes are all insignificant.

The question has been asked, What has become of the original Memoirs? Were they in the hands of Talleyrand himself, or in the keeping of his secretaries? Have they been preserved, and, if so, where are they? The manuscript which the Duc de Broglie is publishing just as he received it from the hands of the executors of M. Andral, is a copy of the Memoirs made by M. de Bacourt; is this copy an exact reproduction of the original manuscripts? Great discussions have taken place on these points. You probably scarcely know in America the name of "Gyp." Gyp writes little articles and books which are sometimes amusing and always flippant, and which give us the slang of the fast people, of the set which is now commonly called *fin de siècle*, a mixture of folly, impudence, and light depravity. The real name of Gyp is Madame de Martel, and she is the grandniece of M. de Bacourt. She has had herself interviewed on this question of the Memoirs, and says she remembers that in M. de Bacourt's house were the papers of Prince Talleyrand, an immense number of small copybooks. "In this disorder there was order; everything was classed, pinned, ticketed. My uncle, who spent eight consecutive years in a perpetual tête-à-tête with these papers, knew what they contained, and moved with singular ease in this intellectual Capernaum." Madame de Martel and her mother helped M. de Bacourt copy certain documents. "He reserved for himself the notes of the Prince." M. de Bacourt had become the real proprietor of all these papers. Talleyrand left them in his will to his niece, Madame de Dino, charging her to intrust their publication to M. de Bacourt. She accordingly left them in her will to this diplomat.

Madame de Martel says that Talleyrand was a sort of demigod in the eyes of M. de Bacourt. "Never would my uncle have suppressed a phrase or changed a word in the notes of the Prince. He classified, copied, and that was all; and all this work was done without a secretary." M. de Bacourt died in 1865, at Nancy, appointing as his executors MM. Andral and Chatelain. They went to Nancy and took possession of the four volumes, bound in calf, which contained the copy made by M. de Bacourt, and which is now being published by the Duc de Broglie. The unimpeachable character of the Duke is a great security; it is certain, as he says so, that we have now the exact reproduction of the copy made by De Bacourt such as he left it. Nobody doubts that the Duc de Broglie has published all that he has received; but M. de Bacourt may have received verbally from Talleyrand himself permission to make some suppressions. M. Paul Andral was a most honorable man, a good lawyer, but not a literary man; his only object seems to have been, for some reason which we do not know, to delay the publication of the Memoirs; at the same time, in confiding their publication to a literary man, to an historian, to the Duc de Broglie, he took the best means of giving a perfect guarantee to the public.

On the whole, the noise which has been made over this question of the authenticity of the Memoirs seems to me to have been quite useless. The Memoirs have in themselves the proof of their authenticity. Talleyrand lives in them, with his curious shades of character and of thought, his singular mixture of fixed ideas and of flexibility of resolution, of solidity and of fluidity. Even the negligent style of some

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parts, even the small errors of fact, which might have been so easily corrected, are a guarantee. More striking than these small negligences and errors are the enormous omissions; there are great periods which seem quite forgotten. But here again the omissions are proofs of the authenticity of the Memoirs. For some reason or other, it did not please Talleyrand to speak of some periods, of some events, of some men; his silence is significant. Many of the mysteries covered by this silence will probably be explained in the succeeding volumes. We wait for them with the greatest impatience, and we have little doubt that, like the present volumes, they will form a most important contribution to the historical literature of our age.

Correspondence.

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It has long been a conviction with me that the only political salvation for this country consisted in educating the children of both natives and immigrants. As has been well shown, it is manifestly impossible to apply any educational qualifications to adult immigrants coming to this country, desirable as it may be. The older folks we cannot touch, but the younger we can and must. In my school, which will perhaps serve as a type of a fairly heterogeneous community, about one-fourth are by birth Germans, one-fourth Irish, one-fourth Scandinavians, and the remainder Poles, English, French, and native Americans. The parents work mostly in rolling-mills, lumber-yards, and large factories. A large percentage of them speak English not at all, or very poorly. But their children, who mostly attend the public schools, can at the end of their course through the four years of primary and four years of grammar school (they generally avoid the high school), speak and write good English, and, more than that, have a fair knowledge of American history and political institutions. Beginning at the fourth year or grade, the supplementary reading, supplied by the city, is chiefly historical — of course simple and adapted to their mental strength. This historical reading continues through the fifth and sixth grades, until the seventh, when a regular text-book on American history is taken up and finished in the eighth. In the last half of the eighth year English history and a little civil government are taken up. Some political economy is, of course, brought in incidentally. The result is, that when these youngsters are ready for their diplomas, they can and do get up on their feet and talk rationally and intelligibly and fearlessly about the present and past of the United States, and it is a fair inference that at the end of about six or seven years they will cast their first votes as calmly and wisely as any native-born American.

To abolish or curtail universal manhood suffrage is an impossibility. As a nation we are committed to and must stand by that policy. Further immigration may be restricted, and stringent ballot laws may reduce fraud and intimidation among those adults who are now within the fold; but the future destiny of the United States lies in the training which the public school can give to the rising generation, especially that of foreign parentage. The aim of the public-school teacher, in Chicago at least, is to turn out intelligently patriotic citizens. I may be pardoned for saying that there is, all things considered, no more noble (and ill-paid) vocation. E. L. M.

SOUTH CHICAGO, May 5, 1891.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On reading your editorials in the *Nation* for April 16 and 30, I cannot but think that you have drawn the meshes of your proposed sieve too small. It seems to me that the favorable light in which immigration from Great Britain has always been looked upon in this country is because of the character of the Englishmen who in the Puritan migration settled New England. Most Americans seem to think that the immigrants whom we to-day receive from England are still "the siftings of a nation." But this, as shown by your correspondent in your number for April 30, is not the case. While I agree with you that unity of language does much to give stability to a nation, I do not think it so essential as unity of race and of racial ideas, if I may so speak. Now of the same race and possessing the same racial ideas as the English and ourselves is the entire Teutonic people, and I would suggest spreading the meshes of your sieve so as to let all such through.

In Minnesota we have, perhaps, a larger Scandinavian population than any other State, and we could not have more desirable immigrants than the thousands who are every year coming here. They are industrious, frugal, peaceful, and, unlike the immigrants from Great Britain, who, coming from a manufacturing and commercial country, settle in the towns and cities, largely settle in the country, and the highest ambition of most of them is the laudable one to own a farm and farm it. They quickly learn our language, and, save where they have settled in large communities, their children invariably speak English in their ordinary conversation. They have political thought, are not mobilized in any party, and they become American citizens, in the true sense of that term, in much less time, I think, than any other immigrants now coming to us.

With the popular feeling against Italians and Spaniards, and with the comparatively small vote cast by nationalities not Teutonic, I do not think that there would be any insurmountable difficulty in obtaining the passage of an act which would practically exclude all immigrants with the exception of those from Great Britain, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. And this, in my humble opinion, would practically settle the immigration problem, for it is not a cessation of immigration which we need, but a regulation which will exclude all undesirable persons and classes of persons.—Yours respectfully, J. A. L.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., May 8, 1891.

Notes.

THE Johns Hopkins University Library has just been made the recipient of the entire collection of MS. and other historical material of Mr. J. Thomas Scharf, the prolific author of State, city, and county histories. It is very rich in documents dating from early colonial times to the close of the late war. "In documents illustrating the history of the Southern States it is believed to be unrivalled," and the University is naturally prompted to make it the nucleus of a library of materials for authentic Southern history. "These records will not be merely stored away, but they will be arranged and made accessible, under proper restrictions, to writers or students of history." Moreover, the University will receive and deposit what the present owners do not wish to alienate permanently. We trust that prompt advantage will be taken of this opportunity by North and South alike.

J. B. Lippincott Co. have in press 'The Swiss Republic,' by Boyd Winchester, late U. S. Minister at Berne.

Dodd, Mead & Co. will publish, in connection with James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., London, 'Intentions,' by Oscar Wilde.

Messrs. F. F. Burgin and Leon Barritt of the N. Y. *Press* are about to issue 'Engravings: How to Estimate their Cost,' with many pictorial examples, accounts of processes, etc.

Fords, Howard & Hulbert announce 'Beyond the Bourne: Reports by a Traveller Returned from the Undiscovered Country,' by Amos K. Fiske.

'In the Heart of the Storm,' by the author of 'The Silence of Dean Maitland,' is in the press of D. Appleton & Co.

A second edition, revised, of Wm. Harrison Clarke's 'The Civil-Service Law: A Defence of its Principles,' etc., is about to be issued by Charles T. Dillingham.

'The Coming Terror,' Robert Buchanan's new volume of essays, will have the imprint of the United States Book Co.

D. Lothrop Co., Boston, have in preparation 'Leaves from an Artist's Field-Book,' by Wedworth Wadsworth.

The fifth bound volume of the 'Century Dictionary' is a reminder that this noble undertaking is nearing its end, for the sixth and final volume will make its appearance in the autumn (The Century Company). Up to this point, or as far as the word *stroyl* in the vocabulary, the editors reckon that they have disposed of about 185,000 words; and the letter S, when finished, will occupy more space than any other—860 pages all told, or not far from the bulk of a whole volume. The editors remark on the distinctively literary character of this volume, by alphabetic chance. A glance at such titles as Reconstruction, Republican, Repudiation, Resolution, Secesh and Secession, Slavery, Stalwart, etc., will show no small proportion of American political-historical information. Our peculiar use of the substantive "record" is embalmed with a quotation from Bryce's 'American Commonwealth.' The illustrations continue to be abundant and of a high order; the typography a model for all dictionary-makers.

Under the title of 'Etudes Américaines,' Mr. Henri Gaullieur reprints four articles concerning this country which he contributed to the *Journal de Genève*, and which, though not quite free from some of the errors that foreigners are so apt to fall into when writing of the United States, afford a fairly correct picture, and evince a degree of familiarity with things American which only a long residence here could account for. It may be worth mentioning that the writer accepts as authoritative the work of Robert Anderson Wilson on the Conquest of Mexico, which was published in 1859, but which, by common consent on this side of the ocean, has been consigned to oblivion.

Very nearly one-half of the April number of *Nord und Süd* is taken up with the first instalment of a journal kept by Ferdinand Lassalle in 1840, when he was in his sixteenth year. Paul Lindau furnishes an introduction which raises expectations that are doomed to disappointment, unless, indeed, the concluding portion, to be published the following month, will justify the almost stilted language of the preface. The journal, as so far published,

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reveals simply an offensively conceited, ill-tempered, and underbred boy, not particularly advanced in his studies and addicted to many objectionable habits and practices. The most interesting fact we learn is that the agitator's name was really Lassal, and that he Frenchified it by adding a final *le* in 1846 while living in Paris—a lamentable indication of petty vanity.

We are in receipt of numbers 34 and 35 of the Fourth Series of the *Anales de la Universidad Central del Ecuador*. This monthly bulletin of the Quito University is "devoted to the promotion of general education and the cultivation of the arts and sciences in Ecuador." The number of cases in which "R. P." precedes the names of contributors, and "S. J." follows them, is an indication of the extent to which the higher education of the country is under ecclesiastical control.

A sad interest attaches to the "Pedagogic Autobiography" which is the opening paper of the *Educational Review* for May. It was the last manuscript on which the late R. H. Quick was engaged at the time of his sudden death in March last, and was left unfinished. Its style is perfectly characteristic of the lamented author of 'Essays on Educational Reformers,' who was happily distinguished from the Dryasdust tribe of writers on education. Mr. Quick felt a scruple in complying with the request to write this paper, being "in the habit of protesting, in season and out of season, against the amount of time spent on periodicals." "Woe," he goes on to say, "to the man who, in the days of his youth and ignorance, tries to keep and even bind up a periodical!"

A handsome reprint from the Cambridge *Tribune* (Cambridge: W. H. Wheeler) gives the history of 'The Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women, commonly called "The Harvard Annex."' The original work in science and history of some of the students has been very significant.

From the Laboratory of Physical Geography of Harvard College we have a paper, by S. M. Ballou, confuting Prof. Thomas Russell's theory of "cold waves."

In the current *Harvard Monthly*, Mr. Edwin H. Abbot takes up the subject of Harvard clubs. These have come into being at about the rate of one a year since 1865, when the State withdrew from all control of the college management. Mr. Abbot names twenty-one, scattered across the continent, with memberships ranging from 25 to 567 (New York); and there are several more with undeterminable memberships. He would have a standing committee on "Harvard Clubs and organizations of the alumni of the University schools," with a view to promoting intercourse of these clubs with one another and with the governing bodies of the University.

The *Cornell Sun*, the daily paper of the undergraduates, lately remarked in an argument for the erection of an observatory that "Cornell leads in every other branch of learning; her professors are the best in the country." To this claim a member of the original Faculty, Prof. Wilder, objects in the issue of May 6, that it "is not warranted for any institution," adding: "If those who constitute the peripatetic 'teams' would take the opportunity to witness such unexciting 'events' as the performance of the legitimate educational functions of the institutions which they visit, their absences might serve at least one useful end in broadening the views of their fellows and preventing the publication of boasts which—like some of the earlier announcements of our prospective achievements—merely bring deserved ridicule upon us."

No. 3 of the Occasional Lists of the Manchester (Eng.) Public Free Libraries is a catalogue of the collection of works on Short-hand, Spelling Reform, and Cryptography collected by the late John Eglington Bailey. It fills 44 pages in double columns.

Mr. W. M. Griswold has, as a professional guide to literature, performed no service better than in his "Descriptive Lists" of novels. He began with the class dealing with American country life; he has now issued a list for those portraying American city life, and another for "international novels." The method is the same in all: alphabetical arrangement by title, carefully chosen characterization from a reputable source, and index of titles, authors, and locality. We should also notice a very convenient indication of the year of publication, beside the publisher's name. We have before said, and we repeat, that these lists should be kept in quantity in all public libraries, to serve as a sieve for fiction-readers; while parents with growing children who frequent such libraries, would find the lists an invaluable check on indiscriminate reading.

Reviews and notices, news, and summaries of periodicals fill much the larger part of the *American Journal of Archæology* for December (Boston: Ginn & Co.). The brief leading paper is by Mr. A. S. Murray of the British Museum, on a vase of the Mycenæ type in the Abbott collection of the New York Historical Society, shown in a photographic plate. The discoveries at Platæa in 1890, under the auspices of the American School at Athens, are fully detailed and illustrated with a plan. An interesting debate takes place in the department of Correspondence between Prof. Charles H. Moore and Mr. A. L. Frothingham, jr., touching some alleged errors in the former's work on the 'Development and Character of Gothic Architecture.'

—In the May *Macmillan's*, Dr. Birkbeck Hill reminds us that the 16th of this month will be the hundredth anniversary of the publication of Boswell's Johnson, and he expresses a hope that the celebrated biographer will be remembered upon his centenary. The book and the man are so much one that the day of publication may fairly be treated as the author's birthday. Dr. Hill points out the unnoticed fact that the date was the anniversary of Boswell's meeting with Johnson, and uses it to illustrate the vein of sentiment in him which is also shown by his publishing his other two volumes upon his own birthday. It is too late to say anything new upon Boswell, and Dr. Hill attempts no more in his pleasant article than to show that the first of modern biographers, though he acknowledged a certain indebtedness to the example of Mason in his 'Life of Gray,' was truly the original inventor of his method; and, having made this claim, he reminds us of Boswell's failings, especially in his devotion to the bottle, and congratulates us that the book got itself written amid all the difficulties of its author's habits. He calls attention, also, to two striking facts: one, that this work is only one of the several excellent biographies of the century past which have preserved the author's name and go by it—we speak not of 'Johnson's Life,' but of 'Boswell'; the other, that, unlike Boswell's other books, it has never been translated. It would, perhaps, suffer the most of any English book in a foreign version. One cannot fancy the Doctor's most celebrated phrases and sayings in French, for example, and his personality would suffer as much as his English. Yet that no foreigner has tried to fail in the attempt to give some knowledge of a work so famous in English, is singular.

—In the remainder of the number we observe a very favorable notice of Théodore de Banville, by Mr. Arthur Symons, in which full justice is done to the light qualities of the French poet, and perhaps criticism has passed into that merely personal admiration which is now so often the substitute for judgment—it is so natural for the impressionist to become the egoist. A third literary paper is Mr. Saintsbury's brief history of the war songs of English verse, in which he gives the palm to Campbell among the moderns, and writes very sensibly by the way of the weakness of Campbell's other poetry. He mentions, of course, Drayton's fine poem on Agincourt, but a better example of the danger of verbal criticism by a man who is not a poet, could not easily be found than his expression of a wish that in the lines about the archers—

> "None from his fellow starts,
> But playing manly parts
> And like true English hearts
> Stuck close together"—

the poet had written *Shot close together;* "but why," he adds, "gild the lily?" The emendation is one of those stupidities that give to all criticism that pleasing touch of burlesque at which gods and poets laugh.

—On account of the serious attempt just now being made to revise the Westminster Confession, the Presbyterianism of the English Commonwealth naturally acquires a fresh interest. Consequently the 'Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis,' printed for the Chetham Society, and 'Materials for an Account of the Provincial Synod of the County of Lancaster,' privately printed, both being edited by W. A. Shaw, M.A., of Owens College, are quite worth the attention of students. It is to be remembered that these are not only the most important, but almost the only published records of this particular phase of English ecclesiastical history. Mr. Shaw has prefaced the Minutes with an able introduction sketching the origin of the Presbyterian experiment—a disastrous one, he thinks, so far as the normal development of the English Church was concerned. Among the instructive documents revealing the spirit and aims of the Presbyterian movement, not the least important are the records of ordinations, for the questions proposed and discussed by the candidates give us a glimpse of old-fashioned, belligerent, dogmatic Calvinism. For example, one candidate, "aged about 24 years," maintained the affirmative of *an gratia sit irresistibilis;* another the negative of *an fides justificans potest amitti;* still another the negative of *an Christus sit mortuus pro omnibus et singulis hominibus;* while a fourth was "approv'd" and "ordayn'd" for answering negatively *an Christianus magistratus potest legitime tolerare omnes religiones*—agreeing thus with eminent Catholic authorities.

—The 'Harvard Studies in Classical Philology' (Boston: Ginn & Co.) offer an inviting range of subjects, and are by no means confined to pure philology, for which American scholarship has been said to show a predilection. They include papers on the time and place of the "Feast of Trimalchio," on "Greek and Roman Barbers," on "An Inscribed Kotylos from Bœotia," and on "The Stage in Aristophanes," as well as discussions of such purely linguistic questions as "Gajus or Gaius?" (Prof. Allen), "Some Uses of Nec" (Prof. Greenough), "Nedum" (J. W. H. Walden),

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"Some Constructions in Andocides" (Morris H. Morgan), and the "Participial Construction with τυγχάνειν and κυρεῖν" (Prof. J. R. Wheeler). Mr. Haley reviews in clear and business-like Latin, with great acuteness and research, the opinions of Studer, Franz, Teuffel, Bücheler, and Mommsen, as to the vexed question where Petronius intended to place the "Banquet" and at what period. Mr. Haley agrees with Mommsen in fixing the time of the Banquet about A. U. C. 740, after the death of Virgil and before the Consulate of Gallius and Censorius; he differs with Mommsen and agrees with Jannelli in placing the scene at Puteoli, instead of Cumæ. Prof. Greenough illustrates some peculiar uses of *nec*, in which it seems to be almost equivalent to *non*, by our vulgar English use of *either* and *neither*. Two street boys quarrelling will say: "You're making faces at me," "I ain't neither." "You be too." The shade of meaning which *neither* gives in these sentences was probably felt in the Latin phrases *nec manifestum*, *res nec mancipi*, *nec procul aberat*, and in all similar cases, whether stereotyped or accidental. That is to say, in almost all such examples *nec* meant, and was felt to mean, more than *non*. Prof. Allen's paper corrects the conflicting testimony of the grammars, and shows, by an exhaustive summary of the testimony of the Greek and Latin poets as well as of inscriptions, that the earliest form of the proper name was Gauius; and that the trisyllabic pronunciation Gāĭus prevailed in Rome from as early as 190 B. C. till 100 A. D. or later. Prof. J. R. Wheeler's is one of those statistical investigations which sum up in a few tables the result of an enormous amount of labor, involving in the present instance the usage of nearly thirty authors and of Attic inscriptions with regard to combinations of τυγχάνειν and κυρεῖν. One inference drawn by Mr. Wheeler was first announced in Prof. Goodwin's latest edition of the 'Moods and Tenses,' and is here reinforced, viz., that in combination with the present or imperfect of these verbs, the aorist participle does not coincide with the time of the verb, but retains its own reference to past time. The learning of the antiquarian discussions is tempered by an agreeable style, and the layman is by no means barred from understanding and enjoying their general drift. The manners and customs of the classical barber, his wealth, his instruments, his fashions in cutting hair, and the vital question whether he ever used scissors, are conscientiously treated by Mr. Nicolson; and the gravity of the subject is relieved by anecdotes which reveal the pedigree of the modern barber, and of the latest jests about him that circulate in the daily papers. Of Prof. White's paper on "The Stage in Aristophanes," we must speak at another time.

—Recurring to the 'Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française du commencement du XVIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours,' of Messrs. Adolphe Hatzfeld, Arsène Darmesteter, and Antoine Thomas (Paris: Ch. Delagrave), we remark that the plan of this new dictionary, four parts of which have appeared, differs from that of the Academy and of Littré, both of which are much larger works. Messrs. Darmesteter and Hatzfeld intend their book to be a *dictionnaire raisonné* which shall exhibit all the changes the language has undergone during the past three centuries and state the causes of these changes. To attain this end the personal history of every word cited has to be traced and told. The magnitude of the work is therefore dependent in part upon the number of words to be admitted, and a rule had to be laid down for this purpose. It is thus formulated by the authors: "Words which have a fixed use in the spoken or written tongue." Consequently, neither localisms, except such as are known over a whole region, nor technical or scientific terms which have not been commonly accepted, are included, save in those rare cases when a local expression may elucidate a general one. But a large number of technical terms and of popular names of fauna and flora have been admitted, and the asterisk, which indicates that the word is not to be found in the last edition of the Academy's Dictionary, is of frequent occurrence. The word admitted, its etymology is next ascertained. The constant progress made in etymology has enabled the authors to include the latest facts bearing upon doubtful points, and in several cases has led them to differ markedly from their great model, Littré. When he gives an etymology as certain, or nearly so, Darmesteter and Hatzfeld sometimes either reject the derivation or state that it is yet uncertain. *Aller*, *bâbord*, *barre*, *bouée* will furnish examples of this. It is to be noted, also, that while words in use since the beginning of the seventeenth century alone form the subject of study, all forms anterior to that date are largely used to illustrate the sequence of etymological changes. This is in accord with the historical and logical method employed throughout, the principle of which in this particular case is, that, no matter how numerous and unlike the existing meanings of a word may be, they can all be traced back to one original signification. The tracing back involves enormous labor, but the result, as exhibited in the Dictionary, is at once most instructive and fascinating. A double chain of connected forms brings the word from its origin—itself indicated by date and quoted text whenever possible—down to the present day, on the one hand exhibiting its transformations in form, on the other its variations, and extensions in meaning. Examples which may readily be referred to are *à*, *aller*, *âme*, *ange* (from 'angel' to 'chain-shot'), *assiette*, *blanc*, *bouchon* (from 'a clump of wood' to 'fishing float').

—It will be understood from this that not only is the history of the word itself given, but necessarily the history of the workings of thought which compelled these changes. Thus an interesting field opens up. How did *gagner*, for instance, which originally meant 'to feed,' come to mean 'to acquire'? The process of evolution and extension in this and other cases is fully explained in the Introduction, and the general laws governing the extension or limitation of the meaning of words are illustrated by numerous references. Careful definition, in the opinion of the authors, will clear away all synonyms so called, for no two words have absolutely the same meaning. Having selected the word, ascertained its etymology, accurately defined its original signification, its present meaning, and all the different ones flowing from the first, the authors have to decide on the classification of these meanings. Carrying out their plan, they consider that every word of multiple signification constitutes a genus, the principal meanings species, and the subordinate ones varieties. The great advantage to a student, whether native or foreign, of this classification is patent after a first trial, as the leading thought which connects the various significations is plainly brought forward, and what is incomprehensible in the ordinary dictionary becomes absolutely clear in this. It is this method, the exact definition, the wise selection of examples, which makes the work so valuable and so welcome. Completed, as it will be, by the "Traité de la formation de la langue," which is to form part of the book, and in which the laws governing the transformations of words and their changes of meaning will be explained, the 'Dictionnaire Général' will be indispensable to all who would keep abreast of the times in the study of French. The type used is small, but clear, and, even without reference to the key, the signs used in subdivision of articles would be intelligible. The four parts issued contain, besides the Introduction (xxviii pp.) the whole of the letter A and to *brouette* in letter B.

—When Prof. Albrecht Penck was called from Munich to the chair of Geography in the University of Vienna several years ago, he established a serial entitled *Geographische Abhandlungen*, for the publication of advanced geographical essays. Four volumes have been issued, containing in all twelve monographs, among which are studies on the Glaciation of the Salzach District in the Eastern Alps, and Climatic Variations since 1700, by Prof. Brückner of Berne; the Distribution of Air Pressure over Middle and Southern Europe, by Prof. Hann of Vienna; the Cordillera of Merida, by Dr. W. Sievers, and others of the same original quality. The first number of the fifth volume contains three papers by students of Prof. Penck's in the Geographical Institute of the Vienna University. It is easy to see that there is nothing to compare with this advanced line of study in our universities, and, however well equipped we may be in other departments, there is still good reason for students to go abroad if they are geographically inclined. Prof. Penck contributes an account of the study of geography in his University from ancient times, when Master Rudger Dole von Ruremund lectured "de coelo et mundo" in 1391—500 years ago. A. Swarowsky studies the occurrence of ice in the Danube, F. Heiderich treats of the mean height of the continents and depth of the oceans, and L. Kurowski discusses the snow limit in the central Alps. Heiderich's paper is of the most general interest; his results are based on elaborate calculation from the best maps obtainable.

—These *Abhandlungen* are published by the active house of Ed. Hölzel of Vienna. From this press we have a number of notable works of geographic value, particularly in the way of excellent maps and diagrams. Of the former, we may instance Von Haardt's wall map of the Alps, including the entire system from the Mediterranean to the plains of Hungary, and a new map of Africa, by the same cartographer, for school use; and in the line of colored geographical diagrams Hölzel may certainly claim to have produced the best series yet published. They are seldom seen in this country, but were brought prominently to the attention of visitors at the Brooklyn Geographical Exhibition in March, where they occupied the greater part of a large rack. Speaking of this exhibition, we note that, thanks to a committee of the Appalachian Mountain Club of Boston, it has been reopened in that city in the Winslow Skating Rink. Plenty of space is secured for the fullest display of the maps, models, and other objects of this remarkable collection, and it promises to attract a good share of public notice till its close on May 30. The Boston School Board has given its approval to the plan of the exhibition, and has notified the teachers in the public schools of it. Other cities will watch with interest the success of this experiment in travelling exhi-

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bitions, and during the coming fall it is likely that Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington will follow the example of Brooklyn and Boston.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LETTERS.

Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century, 1721-1771. Edited by Emily F. D. Osborn. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1891.

THE letters which are published in this volume are from the same family papers that afforded lately the delightful correspondence of Dorothy Osborn, but they take up the story in a later generation. They are all from the hand of Mrs. Sarah Osborn, a daughter of Admiral Sir George Byng, created Viscount Torrington, and sister of the Admiral whose trial and execution for alleged bad conduct of the Minorca expedition make one of the most notorious instances of injustice in English history. She married, at the age of seventeen, Mr. John Osborn, eldest son of Sir John Osborn, and was thus by this connection a grandniece of Dorothy. Her husband died nine years later, and on the subsequent death of his father she became the guardian of the estate for her son, Sir Danvers, and managed it with great success during his minority. He in turn married, and died in 1753 in New York, where he had been appointed Governor, and left a son, Sir George, during whose minority Mrs. O born again had charge of the estate, and managed it with the same ability. She lived to see a great-grandson, and died at the age of eighty-two. The letters cover her whole active life, with considerable gaps, from 1721 to 1771, and were written to either her son or other members of the family.

The volume is very different from that which has given Dorothy Osborn a distinct place among historical Englishwomen. There is no such personality or vigor of intelligence and feeling in it, and the subjects are of less attractive matter. But it does afford an interior view of the affairs and interests of a woman of strong sense and force of character, and of the habits of living and thinking in the aristocratic society of the last century. A good portion of the contents concerns merely the business of a landed estate, its money matters, repairs, stock, refurnishing, and the like; but a considerable space is also occupied with such news of the city as Mrs. Osborn thought would be welcome to her relatives. She does not descend to anything that can be called gossip; her news is, nine-tenths of it, of marrying and giving in marriage and of politics. What is most striking in the first of these topics is the frankness with which the fortune of the bride and groom is regarded as the main point. The place of money in society is nakedly shown. The tone may be illustrated almost at random in the volume. Here is an instance: "This is Sir Cecils lucky year. His mother has dyed, by whom he has got £2,000 a year, he has also a place of £500 a year in y^e^ Ordanance, his son page to the Prince of Wales, and his daughter to be soon so well married." Or this: "Pit has the reversion of Lady Grandison's £9,000 a year if young Villiers her son dyes under age. He is inclynd to be wild, and has not had the small pox, and Pit is lucky. Therefore everyone concludes the Boy is to dye." The will of the second Duke of Manchester gives occasion for a sketch of how it was received at the old Duchess of Marlborough's, where the Duke's widow was staying:

"I saw a Lady yesterday, came piping hot from thence, left the old Dutches at cards, and exercising her Witt on y^e^ poor Duke's will, commends the Dutches who is in high favour at present, she has talkd so sensible and propper on the occasion. She is charmd with her, but the Will is her whole redicule, and since it is so, tis pitty he named his Dutches in it. He has left her £300 for mourning, which is not 3 pence, her watch and jewels for life, and after to his brother. This is set out by saying y^e^ watch cost I forget what, when she married in her youth. She has broke it and changd it away for one that cost but £14. The baubles of jewels are set in the same light, but the great Joke of all is the Sedan chair, which cost £30 at her weding, and now not worth £4 . . . Dutches Marlborough says he has left his Dutches and all his Serv^ts^ a half year's wages for £360 was half a year's pin mony . . . However I well remember how they treated the Duke of Bedfords character when his Dutches died, and therefore am not astonished to hear the same now."

Whether the subject be death or marriage, the comment is altogether the same, and who is to have and how much, are the questions. There are, however, many items that show a moderate scale of living in several particulars. Mrs. Osborn states her own expense for eatables, for herself and five servants, "exclusive of Beer, Coals, Candles, Tea, Coffee, Sugar, Wine and several other articles which slip in to Housekeeping" at only 30 shillings a week; wages of servants are very low; and she writes to her grandson Jack that he can live like a gentleman in London on £320 to £340 a year.

Next to the expense side of life, with the kindred financial interest of marriage and death, the subject of politics and changes of the time in manners and morals holds the second place. The panic in London at the rebellion of 1745 is the most important historical event of which there is contemporary reminiscence, and then it is but a slight one:

"Wednesday last was the most dismal day I ever knew, it being believed here it was the day of Batle, not only myself but every mortal in terror for their ffriends. . . . By ffryday these fears were over, and others succeeded which seizd indeed the whole Town, and was, I must say, a most shameful Panick, but the express that came had that effect upon all sorts of people. . . . Thousands of the Pretender's Declarations were threw about the Park and streets, every woman thinking where to run for safty, and every man getting Arms and Horses to go with the King, Brother Torrington among the rest. Lord Shannon was so good to take me and my children to Ashly, thinking cross the water most safe. I found a place to hide what was nessessary. Dr. Osborn was in town, thought it high time to remove the things from Chicksands. He went down that morning before the consternation was so great and sent Thomas Green with your two Boxes a Sunday, which are now here, and £100 for Denbigh. I beggd the plate to be burried anywhere near him, for imposible to trust that road by the Wagon since we imagind the Highlanders would be at their heals."

Other matters touched upon are the growing expenses of elections, and particularly the "spendthrift election" in which her grandson, Sir George, stood, and the degeneracy of the Parliament. Mrs. Osborn was connected with Lord Halifax, whose sister her son married, and therefore was interested with the Opposition. She more than once laments the change from the political ties of family connection to those of personal advantage, saying that honor and faith and friendship may be scratched out of the dictionary as words of no meaning; and in 1767 she notes the end of the old régime. "It is said two millions will be spent in elections, £20 and £30,000 comes out of every purse. Nabobs, Contractors, Silversmiths, Bankrupts are in high luck, there will hardly be 200 real gentlemen in the House. The landed Interest died with the last Parliament." She observes, also, that hardening of manners by a colder demeanor in the expression of personal feeling which came in towards the second quarter of the century, and refers more than once to her own affectionateness as old-fashioned. Thus, on reading over some old letters, she writes to her son about them:

"Some from my father with such tenderness and esteme for you that I must still preserve them for your perusal, and tho it may be ffashion to explode such tenderness and humanity as I have lately been reading, yet I thank God for having been born in the days when such passions were praiseworthy, and having received the Benefit of them from my ffriends, for it surprises me to collect together the heap of civilitys and kindness I have received, and the great want I was in of them. . . . My latter days have been so much happier that I had forgot how I strugled in Life in my youth, till this leisure time has refreshed my memory."

Another trait of the times comes out in a few words on the neglect of education of gentlemen's sons. Her standard was certainly low enough: "For Godsake let all boys have a pproper school till 12 year old at least. Tis terible to think when they are Captains y^t^ it will be a shame for them to write to the Admiralty. Poor boys, tis sad when no one belonging to them think Learning is necessary. I even am come to think if they are to be Coblers they should first go to Westminster." Toward the close of her life the increase in the style of living gave her some concern, and she seems to despair of her country as much for extravagance as for political degeneration. "Everybody is undone in England," she writes in 1767; "every day produces new distresses, the immense expense of the Hunting gentlemen makes horses and hounds a drug that must be sold, an infatuation runs through the whole plan of living, and insted of being happy, everyone has made themselves miserable and must all transport themselves to America."

Mrs. Osborne, however, though she took this discouraged view of affairs and praised the old days, lost no interest in the welfare of her grandchildren, and it is plain to see that care for them was the motive of her whole active and energetic life, and her attachment to them the only thing that called out these letters. She was devoted, indeed, to her entire family, and when the great trial of her life came in the execution of her brother, Admiral Byng, she, being then his only surviving near relative, did all that was possible in the way of appeal to her friends. None of the correspondence of that period is left except her letters to the Duke of Bedford and to the Lords of the Admiralty, excellent in form and tone. The letter of Voltaire, enclosing one from the Duc de Richelieu, who commanded the forces at Minorca, and gave his testimony to the probability that, if the Admiral had attacked, he would have been completely defeated, is also included in the account of this episode; but the most important documents are the manly statement of the Admiral himself, written just before his execution, and a brief letter of thanks and of affection to his sister. She discharged her duty equally well, however, in less marked situations, and a strong mind and faithful heart are revealed everywhere in these rather dry and bald memorials of her. The last letter she wrote contains this sentence: "I am ever full of a thankful remembrance of God's goodness to me in the most essential point of life, to have been made happy, and very uncommon to be so two generations together." She was quite ready to leave the scene long before the end came, but for one who had lost her husband early in life and all her children and a brother under such

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distressing circumstances, and had been burdened with much care most of her days, this was a very cheerful farewell.

JOHN DICKINSON'S CASE.—I.

The Life and Times of John Dickinson. 1732–1808. Prepared at the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Charles J. Stillé, LL.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1891.

THE name of John Dickinson might almost deserve to find a place in Friedrich Bülau's curious cyclopædia of 'Enigmatical Men,' so obscure was the mixture of the elements which entered into his mental make-up, and so divergent have been the historical judgments pronounced on his character as a man and a statesman. Revered for a time as the foremost of American civilians, and dividing with James Otis the honors of intellectual gladiatorship in the first opposition that was waged against the Stamp Act and kindred aggressions of the British Government; wielding a vast erudition in the service of the popular cause, and lauded by patriots throughout all the colonies as a man of excellent heart, of transparent probity, and of inflexible rectitude, he subsequently fell from this high estate as the dispute with the mother country waxed hotter and hotter, until at last, on his open refusal to face the dread issue presented by the Declaration of Independence, he was doomed to hear himself denounced as a "piddling genius," as a man of "weak nerves," as a tame and spiritless creature, as the vassal of the Proprietary interest in Pennsylvania, as a craven who failed to act a man's part because he was henpecked by wife and mother, as a sordid recreant who faltered in the path of patriotism because he feared for the safety of his great fortune, as a victim of boundless ambition without courage enough to back it, and, finally, as a soldier who showed the white feather in the presence of the enemy. Even his physical traits—his hectic complexion, the ashen pallor of his visage, and his defective eyesight—did not escape the taunt and sneer of his embittered opponents. It is evident at a glance that any study in the biography of such a man must be at the same time a study in psychological analysis.

It is admitted by Dr. Stillé that Dickinson was always an intense conservative, and had a horror of any change brought about by revolutionary means; that he had a natural hesitation which he never quite overcame, and which sometimes damaged his reputation even when he hesitated at the right time and place; that rather than be a "revolutionist," he was sometimes over-ready to be a "prophet of evil"; that in his policy of pacification on the eve of the Declaration of Independence he was mistaken in his calculations and disappointed in his expectations; and, finally, that he was too distrustful of the people, and was wanting as well in enterprise as in confidence. Yet with all these admissions it is contended that the failings of Dickinson leaned to virtue's side, because they were always inspired by a self-denying sense of duty, and by a zeal for country which not only ate up all pride of personal ambition, but even made their subject willing to offer himself as a living sacrifice on the altar of patriotism—in short, that he acted at all times with the magnanimity of a large-souled and true-hearted statesman, and displayed in critical conjunctures the dauntless spirit of a Cato, who pleased himself with the conquered cause even when the conquering cause had proved pleasing to the gods.

The briefest record of Dickinson's conspicuous career will suffice to show how it is that a species of historical enigma has come to complicate itself with his name and fame in American annals. Born on the 8th of November, 1732, he was bred to the profession of law and studied at the Middle Temple in London with men like Thurlow and Kenyon for his associates. He early rose to distinction at the bar, and, combining an enlightened public spirit with his legal practice, he was elected a member of the Legislature of Delaware in 1760. In 1762 he was chosen to a seat in the Assembly of Pennsylvania, for at that time so intimate was the connection between Pennsylvania and "the Lower Counties," as Delaware was called, that, besides having the same Proprietary Governor, there was often an interchange of public men between the two colonies. As a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly he was a strong supporter of the Proprietary interest, not because he loved the Proprietary family more, but because he trusted less to the intrusion of the Crown in colonial affairs. The passage of the "Sugar Bill" and of the "Stamp Act" soon came to justify his political foresight. In 1765 he published an able pamphlet on these oppressive regulations of the mother country. In the same year he was sent by the Pennsylvania Assembly as its delegate to the Stamp Act Congress which met in New York city on the 7th of October, 1765, and he drafted in that body the resolutions which, as amended and finally passed, were accepted by the patriots of that day as a genuine Bill of Rights on which to base American resistance to Parliamentary usurpations. In 1767–'68 he issued the famous "Farmer's Letters," a series which more than any other publication helped to consolidate public opinion in favor of organized resistance to the British Ministry. In 1771 he drafted the Petition addressed by the Pennsylvania Legislature to the King. In 1774 he was appointed Chairman of the Philadelphia Committee of Correspondence on Colonial Grievances, and in the same year became a member of the first Continental Congress. He drafted in that body the Petition to the King and the Address to the People of Canada. In 1775 he was made Chairman of the Philadelphia Committee of Safety and Defence. In the same year he was elected Colonel of the first battalion raised in Philadelphia for the military defence of the Colonies. In the month of July, 1775, such was his influence in the Continental Congress that he carried through that body a Second Petition to the King in spite of the earnest opposition of the New England delegates. A little later he drafted for the Congress its Declaration of the Causes for Taking up Arms.

Meanwhile, however, he steadfastly opposed the revolutionary agitation organized in Pennsylvania for the overthrow of the Proprietary Government. He strenuously resisted the passage of the Declaration of Independence, on the ground, as he afterwards alleged, that it was premature, in the absence of any organic bond of union among the colonies and in the absence of foreign alliances. On the 12th of July, 1776, he reported to Congress the first draft of a Federal Constitution for the united colonies. Shortly after the Declaration of Independence he was superseded in his military promotion at an irregular election of the volunteer soldiery, voting in disgust at his defection from the cause of independence; and when this irregular election was approved by the revolutionary Convention which had displaced the Proprietary Government, he resigned his military command, as well for civil as for military reasons. The revolutionary Convention refused at the same time to reappoint him as a delegate to the Continental Congress. Elected, notwithstanding his reactionary opinions, to a seat in the revolutionary Assembly, he refused to act with that body, except on conditions which required it to discredit its own right of existence. Retiring to his farm in Delaware, he was elected by that State in November, 1776, to a seat in the Continental Congress, from which he had been exiled by the act of the Pennsylvania Assembly. "He absolutely declined this honor without assigning any reason for the refusal."

He now regarded his civil career as at an end. In 1777 he served as a private in the battle of Brandywine. In the autumn of that same year he was appointed Brigadier-General of the Delaware militia. Elected by Delaware to the Continental Congress early in 1779, he consented to resume his seat in that body on the 23d of May in that year. Appointed Chairman of the Committee raised to prepare an address to the States on the perilous condition of the public finances, he drafted the paper which was issued on this subject by the Congress, being the fifth of the great Revolutionary state papers which emanated from his skilful pen. In the latter part of 1779 he resigned his seat, in apparent weariness of public office, and retired again to his farm. In 1781 he was elected a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Delaware, and shortly afterwards was made its President, both of these offices being "literally forced upon him." In 1782 he was elected a member of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and by act of the Assembly was appointed President of the Council in November of that year. He then for the first time overcame his scruples and took the oath of allegiance to the Revolutionary Constitution. His return to office in Pennsylvania as the most conspicuous representative of the "Anti-Constitutionalists," or "Republicans," as they were called in the Pennsylvania politics of that day, was signalized by the most virulent assaults on his personal, his political, and his military character; but, in spite of these assaults, such was the confidence in his integrity that he was twice reëlected to the same office, and that unanimously. He was sent to Annapolis in 1786 to confer with the State Commissioners appointed to take measures for a revision of the Articles of Confederation, was made President of that Conference, and was deputed by its members to draw up the report which stimulated Congress to initiate the steps it took for a change in the Federal Constitution.

He sat in the Federal Convention of 1787 as a delegate from Delaware, and had a leading part in framing that clause of the Constitution which provides for the equality of the States in the Senate. In a series of notable essays, under the signature of "Fabius," he earnestly advocated the ratification of the Constitution while it was pending before the States. He held no office under the instrument he had helped to frame, but continued to take an interest in politics. In his political principles he was a friend and adherent of Jefferson. He drafted a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in Delaware, but nothing came of it. In 1804 he advocated the restriction of slavery in the newly acquired territory of Louisiana. He died on the 14th of February, 1808. On learning of his death, Jefferson wrote of him as follows: "A more estimable man or truer patriot could not have left us. Among the first of the advocates for the rights of his country when assailed by Great Britain, he

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continued to the last the orthodox advocate of the true principles of our new government, and his name will be consecrated in history as one of the great worthies of the Revolution."

Architecture of the Renaissance in England. Illustrated by a series of views and details from buildings erected between the years 1560–1630, with historical and critical text. By J. Alfred Gotch, F.R.I.B.A., assisted by W. Talbot Brown, A.R.I.B.A. London: B. T. Batsford; Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1891.

It cannot be said that English architecture has shown to advantage in any kind of classic dress. The classic qualities—fineness of proportion, dignified elegance, repose, subjugation of detail—are not those to which it seems born. The charms that sit naturally upon it—vivacity, picturesqueness, the free expression of individual humor or need—these have been stifled whenever it has been submitted to classic form. It does not, like the Italian, wear the yoke with freedom and grace; when it becomes formal it becomes dull. The most that can be said for the English Renaissance, by which is here meant the style of Elizabeth's reign and the following years up to the time of Inigo Jones, is that it was better than that which it displaced. The transition to the classic came when architecture in England was at the lowest ebb of tastelessness and poverty of design. The dryness, the irregularity without picturesqueness, the stiffness without dignity of late Tudor architecture were not a happy preparation for the classic revival. So it is not strange that the English Renaissance lacked the elegance of the Italian and the French; and if it has not the coarseness of the Dutch, it fails of the picturesqueness of the German. To recognize the difference of the soils in which the classic seed was sown we need only compare, for instance, the church of St. Wolfram at Abbeville with an English parish church of the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Nevertheless, it is worth while to put the English on record, for it has its artistic value and its historic interest; and though Richardson and Nash and others in their degree have given us a good many examples of it, nothing has been done with much fulness, nor with the precision of modern reproductions. It is purely domestic, for the early Protestants had no need to build churches, and of other public building there was in England at that time but little. The charm of English domestic architecture, to be sure, lies very much in its expression of home-like comfort, its immediate surroundings, and its adaptation to them—things not strictly architectural. But its qualities are its own; they are English if nothing else, and are peculiarly adapted to English ways of life, and so to American. Therefore, Elizabethan architecture has been a quarry for American builders. Its detail, mechanical and rather petty as it is, is easy of execution by fairly skilled workmen. It does not need the artistic turn of a French or Italian mechanic to do it justice, and it lent itself very kindly to the national jig-saw. It is, indeed, that quality of detail which one might expect to find where workmen, capable but not artistic, were cut loose from their own habits, and set, as they were at that time in England, to carry out a new style under the general guidance of foreigners or foreign fashions, but without minute supervision or the inspiration of direct example. It was rather rude, mechanical, only half appropriate to the style for which it was intended; but it was easily comprehended and executed—just the detail that can be learned from books. The English workman had lost the art of carving; the English architect had not the fine sense of form and proportion that distinguished the Italian and French. It is not strange that their minds worked uneasily under the constraint, that classic features were strained out of shape, that details were coarse and mechanical; that façades were dull and commonplace up to the cornices, but above, where the shackles of classic example were left behind, they blossomed out into untamed extravagance, in turrets, obelisks, arches without spandrels, chimneys composed of coupled columns, parapets of straggling scroll-work.

Mr. Gotch's work is a collection of folio prints, mostly phototypes from nature, but partly from very clear and straightforward drawings by Mr. Brown, with descriptive text. Part I., the first of six, contains illustrations of sixteen buildings, some conspicuous and famous, like Burghley House (more commonly known, we suspect, as Burleigh House) or Haddon, and others less known. The author has not attempted to illustrate any completely, but rather to give a series of suggestive plates, and the result is necessarily a little desultory. We hope that, as he goes on, he will illustrate the text freely with plans. Sketch-plans and outline views cost little in space or money: they save the interested reader much hunting, commonly vain hunting, in other authorities, and a feeling of unsatisfied curiosity which is akin to dissatisfaction; they go far, also, to correct the air of scrappiness which is the common blemish of books of this kind. The most attractive of the buildings here are, perhaps, not the most important. Burghley House, a stately, rather picturesque, but uneasy design of Thorpe, bristling with turrets and chimneys, challenges not too favorable comparison with the nearly contemporary châteaux of Chambord and Chenonceau. "Hardwicke Hall, more glass than wall," as Mr. Gotch aptly quotes, is a dreary pile, and its state bedroom, but for a bit of finer detail here and there, might pass for a burlesque design. Park Hall is a half-timbered house, resolutely picturesque. The older part, also half-timbered, of Hall i' th' Wood, is charming in spite of its dilapidation, with a breadth and nice proportion that are wanting in more ambitious examples. The tombs of Burghley and Leicester, and the curious sentry-box doorway in Broughton Castle, show an unusual care for proportion, and in parts fineness of detail; but all are disfigured by the structures that surmount them. Apethorpe and Stibbington, with more breadth than most and less effort of design, show also more animation and yet more repose. This is due partly to better lighting of the plates, but also to happier composition. Stibbington has a very clever solution of the difficult problem of applying a bow-window to a gable.

The plates are well executed, but a little dull and wanting in accent. Some of them, apparently taken on gray days, suffer from the dry monotony of tint that is apt to pursue the phototype. Mr. Brown's drawings are just what they should be. Mr. Gotch's text is very good. His introduction is admirable—animated, interesting, judicious in tone, and true in criticism. It does not appear whether we have the whole of it in this first part; we wish there were more. On the whole, the publication is timely, valuable, and very well done. The only reason why it is not of unusual interest is to be found in the quality of the material of which it is made.

New York. [Historic Towns.] By Theodore Roosevelt. Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

Mr. Roosevelt has made a very readable book; but it is not altogether a history of New York city. We need not maintain, with a certain sect, that a work of art must have no moral, and yet we must recognize that it is desirable to tell a story, whether true or fictitious, without making its lessons too obtrusive. Mr. Roosevelt preaches a little too much. He lays down the singular proposition that a feeling of broad, radical, and intense Americanism is necessary if good work is to be done in any direction. Obviously he has been sickened by his familiarity with certain manifestations of provincialism, both past and present; but it is strange that this should have blinded him to the absurd provincialism of his maxim. Most people are not assailed by

> "—— temptations
> To belong to other nations."

They remain good Americans without ever thinking of it. To set "Americanism" as a supreme ideal is about as sure a way to produce bad work in any direction as could be devised. The sooner we get over talking about "American" systems of philosophy, and ethics, and art, and devote ourselves to the search for what is true, and right, and beautiful, the sooner we shall shake off our provincialism.

In truth, this remark of Mr. Roosevelt's may have been meant to appease the Chauvinists, for the story of New York, as he tells it, and as we fear it must be told, is not inspiring. The record is almost bare of glorious deeds, of lofty ideals, of elevating thoughts. The city was sordid when it was small, and sordid when it became great. No glamour of romance can be made to surround it. From a very early time it has been a mart, a place to buy and sell and get gain; and in this respect its past has been great and its future will be greater. But in civic life, such as gave Athens an imperishable name and made glorious the history of many mediæval towns, New York has always been deficient. It is not a mere "geographical expression," but it is hardly more than a commercial expression. The causes of this lack are clearly shown by Mr. Roosevelt. The city did not develop: it simply grew. Development was swamped by wave after wave of immigration, and, after it had been populated by those who came to it as a place for money-getting, it fell a victim to their parasites. The celebrated exclamation of Blücher, when he first beheld London, has been echoed by thousands of "legislators" both in and out of New York. The city has seldom been self-governing, and, after the tide of immigration fairly set in, it is doubtful if it was capable of self-government.

Mr. Roosevelt speaks with generous scorn of the narrow prejudice felt against immigrants by the descendants of immigrants. But the prejudice, though narrow, is rooted in the instinct of self-preservation. If a "community" is to develop, it must have a community of feelings and aims, based upon the mutual understanding of its members. A *colluvio gentium* is incapable of such an understanding. The chief merit of Mr. Roosevelt's sketch, so far as it relates to the history of the city of New York—for we think his digressions the best part of it—is the clearness with which he brings out the mongrel character of its population, and it is surprising that he should give so little consideration to the natural consequences of this feature.

The purely narrative portions of the history are very agreeably written, and leave the reader with the single regret that they are necessarily so much abbreviated. The opening is slightly marred by some affectation of archaic English and some leaning to alliteration, as in the sentence, "Their small ships dared

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the dangers of the most distant oceans, and shattered the sea-might of every rival naval power; and they themselves led lives of stormy peril and strong pleasure"; but these blemishes soon disappear. The subject is really too large for the prescribed limits, and Mr. Roosevelt has perhaps done as well by a difficult piece of work as could have been done by any one.

The Evolution of Sex. By Prof. Patrick Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson. [The Contemporary Science Series.] Scribner & Welford. 1890. 8vo, pp. 315, 104 illustrations.

FOR several years the authors have been independently writing upon the theoretical side of biology, and now unite in adding one more to the adverse criticisms by scientific men upon Darwin's theory of sexual selection. The main points presented are that sexual selection is a minor rather than a major cause of sexual differentiation; that there are many varieties, especially in the male, which are not beautiful, conspicuous, or useful, which cannot aid the female in selection or decide the contest between rival males; that variations in their beginnings must have been slight, necessitating such a high degree of acuteness of vision and æsthetic taste in order to make the proper selection as to seem incredible; that colorings and markings occur in nature where it is not possible that they can be due to sexual selection. Darwin himself freely stated some of these objections, but, on the whole, considered sexual selection the most potent factor in the production of secondary sexual characters, while Wallace thinks that natural selection alone will account for the differences between the sexes.

Our authors consider that a more fundamental analysis of the question is demanded. As the basis for their constructive theory they cite the recent work of physiologists and chemists on the processes of protoplasmic growth, activity, and degeneration, grouped under the general name of metabolism, the upbuilding being due to anabolism, the tearing down to katabolism. With these two words to conjure with, they explain the most abstruse and puzzling phenomena of biology, though they do not deny to natural and sexual selection, function and environment, subordinate parts in organic evolution. The difference between the sexes in secondary characters is only the special expression of fundamental differences, caused by the more katabolic or destructive processes in the male, the more anabolic or nutritive processes in the female. Gaudy coloring, defensive weapons are expressions of overflowing, waste energy. The males are more variable, and "transmit more variations because they have more to transmit." The exceptional female cuckoo is explained on Eimer's hypothesis that her habit is only one expression of a consistent, self-seeking, active, voracious character, one in which katabolism predominates. The sexual elements are indicative of the difference between the sexes, the one large and quiescent, the other small and active. The sex itself of some individuals is supposed to be caused by the condition of nutrition at an early period, more females being produced under favorable conditions of heat, nutrition, etc.

With reference to the last point Minot says: "The relation of impeded nutrition to the development of sexual elements and the causation of sex needs investigation based on proper experiments." But, even on *a priori* grounds, it seems that if a change of nutritive conditions can change the sex, there cannot be a fundamental difference in the protoplasmic constitution of the sexes, for protoplasm not only absorbs but assimilates what comes to it. Then, with regard to the size of animals, it is hardly made clear how katabolic activity can, among lower forms, produce males that are smaller than the females, and, at the same time, in the higher forms, reverse the relative proportions. Finally, while it might be conceded that the difference between the sexes lies in a difference of metabolism, the argument here presented only proves that the katabolism in males is less distinctly of a periodic or rhythmic character than in females.

The conclusion once reached that the difference between the sexes is fundamental, the question is raised as to the cause of that difference. Why has the more primitive and apparently more economical hermaphroditism so generally been replaced by conjugation or true fertilization in the dominant species? Recent experiments on very low forms are cited which accord with the common experience that close breeding tends to degeneration; but, after denial that "subsequent advantageousness" can explain the origin of sex, the question is left without an answer.

The human mind has come to distrust theories which are said to have universal application. Doubts are immediately excited when the theory outlined above is extended by the authors from the proper subject of the book to the more fundamental ones—the relations of growth, reproduction, and death. Especial attention is directed to the puzzling and anomalous matters connected with reproduction, hermaphroditism, alternation of generation, asexual multiplication, parthenogenesis, the extrusion of polar globules, and all are shown to be in perfect harmony with the main thesis, and all to be due to a greater or less degree of metabolism. The more favorable the conditions of nourishment and heat, the less likely is sexual reproduction to take place; but as soon as conditions occur which favor katobolic changes, "the organism defends itself by uniting its waning vigor with another." The inadequacy of this explanation is shown by a carefully stated observation of Weismann, that parthenogenesis is the rule in certain Daphnidæ during the spring and summer, when food is scarce, while in the warm autumn, food being abundant, sexual reproduction occurs.

The problems here treated are among those which always interest the acutest observers and thinkers, with the result that more energy is spent in thinking out and elaborating a theory than in taking a single fruitful field and gathering a ripe harvest of facts, so connected and complete as to give some real and permanent ground for advance. The methods of experiment and the criticism of observations are constantly becoming more rigorous. Naturally more confidence would be felt in a theory put forth by men who had, by a long series of published results, challenged severe counter criticism. The dictum of Foster, that "the whole story of proteid metabolism consists at present mostly of guesses and gaps," makes it evident that a theory based upon such an insecure foundation is far from that state when a complete theory of life and of ethics may safely be raised upon it as superstructure. Yet this is unhesitatingly done in the present work and put forth in popular form, and from it are derived suggestions as to conduct. It doubtless will be a relief to many who have been oppressed by the idea that the struggle for existence not only settles all questions, but is the true law of life, to find authors who base altruistic ideas upon the constitution of protoplasm. The few, however, who believe that genius is not necessarily a matter of sex, will receive a blow when they learn that "what was decided among the prehistoric protozoa cannot be annulled by act of Parliament." For the sure and true solution of the problems of population and the connected one of competition, "a new ethic of the sexes, . . . an economic of the sexes which will remove the present destructive industrial competition—a reorganization of life, work, and surroundings, is necessary."

Concise historical reviews of leading theories are given, while the summaries and bibliographies at the end of each chapter are valuable aids to the careful reader. An index to the volume insures its utility as a book of reference. The theory is clearly illustrated by several good diagrams, and in general the illustrations are well selected, though in some cases the text would have been made clearer for the general reader by a few more, as when reference is made to lower and more unfamiliar forms of life. As a whole the style is clear and pithy, but the elaborate effort of the first few chapters to use vernacular terms, as "maleness," "very male," "backboneless," meets with its usual antithesis in the later chapters, where the occasional use of a Latin expression, printed in italics, occurs, and "katastates" is introduced to the laity without definition.

The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America. By Daniel G. Brinton, A.M., M.D. New York: N. D. C. Hodges. 1891. 8vo, pp. 392.

THIS volume is an expansion of one of the lectures published last year under the general title of 'Races and Peoples.' To understand it properly, we must premise that, in that publication, Dr. Brinton accepts the theory of evolution as being the most satisfactory explanation of man's origin; and in the river drift of France and England he finds proof that the birthplace and original home of the species was in western Europe. This occurred before the great ice age, and at a time when a land bridge connected that continent not only with Africa, but also with Iceland, Greenland, and North America. Over this bridge, to the exclusion of all other methods and lines of travel, the primitive man is supposed to have come; and it was during his long sojourn in the region "east of the Rocky Mountains, and between the receding wall of the continental ice sheet and the Gulf of Mexico," that he underwent the changes that transformed him into the American Indian. From this region, or "area of characterization," as it is called, he gradually spread over the whole continent; and the fact that his migrations were along lines of longitude and not latitude is believed to account, in good part, for the uniformity in physical and psychical traits which seems to have been everywhere preserved. Indeed, so marked is this resemblance that, in spite of certain differences in appearance, culture, and language, we are told that "individuals taken from any part of the continent could be easily mistaken for inhabitants of numerous other parts."

All this is plausible enough, and, aside from the limit as to the routes by which the original immigrant is said to have travelled, there is nothing to which we particularly object. On this point, though, as we have said before, nothing definite is known. The American Indian may have been indigenous, or he may

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have come from Asia or Africa, as well as from Europe. We may also add that while the plan of resurrecting a submerged continent in order to bolster up a theory has certain advantages, it is also attended with risk, for the reason that, when once committed to this style of reasoning, there is no telling where we shall have to end. Thus, for example, leaving the lost Atlantis out of consideration, it is as easy to imagine that the Aleutian Islands are part of a sunken continent as that Greenland and Iceland are. In fact, geologists assure us that, possibly, such is the case; and, so far as climate is concerned, there is no reason for supposing that the conditions that prevailed in the two sections were very different. Certainly, if what the botanists tell us of the flora that once existed in the north-polar circle be true, primitive man would have found life there quite as easy as his descendants now do in the country between Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountains.

This, however, is but a small matter; and as it is based, chiefly, upon conjecture, and is altogether preliminary, it may be dismissed without impairing in any way the value of our author's classification of the numerous tribes into which the American race is divided. Here Dr. Brinton is at his best. His knowledge of the questions involved is incontestable, and accordingly, when he brushes aside culture and craniology as tests, and declares (p. 57) that language is the only basis upon which the subdivision of the race should proceed, we accept it as an expression of the current scientific opinion of the day upon the subject. But into this field we do not propose to intrude. Unquestionably, this portion of the work, notwithstanding the frequent admissions as to the scantiness of the material, is of the first importance; but, being largely technical, it is "caviare to the general," and, hence, we content ourselves with observing that the author finds eighty stocks, or families of languages, in North America, and about as many in South America; and that among the curious linguistic relationships to which he calls attention is that which existed between the Utes and the Aztecs—tribes which, so far as culture is concerned, occupied the two extremes of the scale.

But while denying that culture, physical conformation, or geographical position can be used as a criterion of race, Dr. Brinton does not hesitate to draw from these sources when describing the appearance and development of the different stocks or families into which the tribes are divided. This he does in a few comprehensive phrases; and although there are a number of statements, or perhaps it might be more correct to say of possible inferences, to which exception can be justly taken, yet, regarded as a whole, his conclusions are so uniformly in accord with those with which the readers of this journal are familiar that we forget the little that is objectionable in this portion of the volume in consideration of the amount of good it contains.

Summing up a few of these conclusions, not so much on account of their novelty as for the purpose of showing the tendency of opinion upon the matters involved, it may be said that above everything else our author insists upon the unity of the race from Greenland to Tierra del Fuego as the bottom fact in American ethnography. Differences there were in many particulars, and some of them were very great, but they were of degree and not of kind. Take, for example, the shape of the skull, and such is the diversity in this respect that (p. 36) "it has frustrated every attempt to classify the existing tribes or trace former lines of migration by grouping together similar head-measurements." The very impossibility of forming any natural division founded upon this feature furnishes an argument in favor of the unity of the race. Cranial comparisons, it is admitted, are of use as marking "distinctive family traits," but beyond this they do not go, as "the shape of the skull is not a fixed element in human anatomy, and children of the same mother may differ in this respect." So, too, in regard to the color of the skin, which varies within certain narrow limits; and the form and color of the hair, which, so far from being uniformly coarse, black, and straight, occasionally "has a reddish tinge," and is sometimes "fine and slightly curly." Although often compared with that of the Mongolians of Eastern Asia, yet it is said "to differ in nearly every particular."

Finally, we are told that the culture of the race was of indigenous growth, and (p. 44) that it was not monopolized by a few tribes, as is generally supposed. Wherever the surroundings favored the development of culture, as in Mexico and Peru, "neighboring tribes, though of different stocks, enjoyed it to nearly an equal degree." Moreover, the difference between the highest and the average culture of the race is much less than has been usually taught. Except in architecture and the possession of one or two inventions which can hardly be considered as marking a distinct stage of civilization, "the Aztecs of Mexico and the Algonquins of the Eastern United States were not far apart." To contrast them, therefore—one as being a savage and the other a civilized people—"is to assume a false point of view and overlook their substantial psychical equality" as demonstrated in other ways.

With such opinions, there is, of course, no room in this volume for idle speculations as to the existence of extinct peoples of superior civilization, who are supposed to have built the mounds of the Mississippi Valley, the cliff-dwellings of Arizona, and the deserted cities of Yucatan. Examined in the cold light of fact, the theories built up with so much labor upon these questions are found to disappear. Ruined cities like Palenque, admitting that they were uninhabited when Cortez passed that way, and were unknown to him, do not differ materially from Uxmal, Chichen Itza, and Peten, all of which were occupied when the Spaniards first visited that region. The cliff-dwellers of Arizona are identified with Uto-Aztecan tribes like the Pimas and others, some of whom were overcome and driven southward within the historic epoch; and as for the mound-builders of the Ohio Valley, we are told, with a moderation that is in striking contrast with the usually positive tone of our author, that "there is a strong probability" that they were the ancestors of the Creeks, Choctaws, and kindred southern tribes. These he groups as "Chahta-Muskokis"—a bit of "pedantry" hard to reconcile with his condemnation of a similar fault in others.

Feudalism: Its Rise, Progress, and Consequences. By J. T. Abdy, LL.D. London: Geo. Bell & Sons. 1890.

It would seem to be impossible for people who write books in English to learn that any investigations of early feudalism have been made within the last forty years. Even Hannis Taylor, in his 'Origin and Growth of the English Constitution,' following Freeman, who follows Palgrave, makes the beneficiary system originate in "grants of land-benefices or fiefs" made by the Teutonic kings to their followers—a practice suggested to them by the Roman custom of granting lands upon a military tenure to colonies of soldiers on the frontiers. He refers to Waitz as authority for this statement, but this is exactly what Waitz says did not take place.

The volume before us would hardly deserve the space of this notice did not its title promise to supply a painfully felt want in our historical literature. But the promise of the title is left sadly unfulfilled by the book itself. It is confused and even self-contradictory, frequently inaccurate, and follows avowedly as its chief authority Guizot, though the later English authorities are frequently referred to. Guizot's writings will probably be worth reading so long as history is read at all, for their suggestive and stimulating presentation of the general unfolding of history; but as authorities for any detailed knowledge of the facts of mediæval institutions they are about as valuable as if they had been written in the days of Moses.

The part of this book which treats of the origin of the feudal system is but little more, as the author himself says, than a translation of the 'Essais' of Guizot. The fifth lecture, which has an extremely important subject—the origin of the benefice—is based upon Guizot's fourth essay, but is far less clear than the original, and can hardly give a definite idea of that process to any one. It starts out as if the benefice had its origin in the *comitatus*, but the idea is not developed clearly. It then discusses the length of time for which benefices could be held—an entirely subordinate and unimportant point in the real history of feudal beginnings; speaks of the Church lands and the Church *precariæ*, but with no indication of their relation to the origin of the beneficial tenure; alludes in passing to the secularization under the early Carolingians, but tells us nothing of the great controversy on this point nor of its importance; describes commendation, but does not state its origin nor appreciate its part in the growth of feudalism; speaks of tributary lands—meaning evidently land paying a *cens*, but appears to include under it Roman land made tributary to the newly established German State; mentions the commendation described by Salvian, but gives no hint of its connection with that which has been described before; and would lead us to infer that all benefices were held by military tenure from the beginning. Guizot's study of which this is a summary was an earnest one in the days when men were groping among these scattered facts for their lines of connection, and were still unable to indicate how each made its contribution to the common result—the feudal system; but why should such things be reproduced in English at this late day?

Instances of carelessness and even inaccuracy abound: a writer of the tenth century is put into the fifth; John Scotus Erigena is made the friend of Charlemagne; the oath of allegiance exacted by William of all the Saxons makes them the King's vassals and changes all tenures into feudal ones. But it is not worth while to multiply instances. The larger part of the book is devoted to Saxon institutions and those of the Norman conquest. Here the author has at his hand better and more recent authorities, though he does not follow them exclusively, and there are far too many evidences in this part of his work also of carelessness and incomplete knowledge.

There is a very rich field waiting to reward some investigator who shall examine the documents illustrating the semi-feudalism which grew up in England before the Norman conquest, and compare them in minute detail with the corresponding Continental documents of

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the real feudal system in its formative stages. This is especially true with regard to the still only half-understood subject of the immunity and its relation to the growth of private jurisdiction. But such work, when it is done, will be very different from that before us.

La France. Par Angelo de Gubernatis. Florence: J. Civelli.

UNDER this title Count de Gubernatis has collected impressions and notes inspired by his warm attachment to France, and—delicate attention—he has written them out in the language spoken on the banks of the Seine. To say that the work breathes sympathy would be to express coldly the tone of it. Italian enthusiasm, when complimentary, is prodigal, and the amiabilities intended by the writer to prove to France how high she still stands in the admiration of the world are enough to disconcert the most self-satisfied Chauvinism. We doubt if there are many Frenchmen who would offer, in the name of patriotism, such unalloyed praise to their country as is done by this Italian writer. France is proclaimed the image of civilization. Each nation may have superior special qualities, but no population presents an ensemble more varied, more rich, more harmonious. With subtle deftness the writer gives the explanation of this enviable entity, showing the many foreign threads with which France has woven the tissue of perfect civilization. Spain, Italy, England, Holland, Germany, Russia, and America have furnished her with precious teachings, and, in her constant work of international assimilation, France, discarding the uncouth or the excessive, has embodied all the contributed elements in her organism. The eulogist, however, is not without his cordial censure. France is a great country, but let the French of 1890 take care. National politeness is on the wane; on the decline, also, the charm which came from the confiding bonhomie so characteristic of the French. The cosmopolitan spectator is forced to declare, with apologies for taking such a liberty, that priggishness is noticeable in the citizens, one and all, of the Third Republic, from the humblest to the President, who "salutes the crowd with Sultan-like bows that went out of fashion a century ago in foreign courts."

But De Gubernatis's work has another object than to deal with the French as a people, viz.: to bring about a permanent alliance between France and Italy. He contends that contemporary France does not sufficiently understand her real interests in Italy.

"So long as Papal Rome represented for France the tradition of the old Latin civilization," says the writer, "seeking a *point d'appui* in Rome was plausible; in the eyes of Charlemagne, Rome was perhaps the highest expression of civilization. But since the rise of the great communes and the Italian renaissance, Papal power has ceased to personify Italy. Each time France interfered to uphold the cause of the Pope against the new interests of the Italian people, she made herself unpopular. . . . To-day part of France still prefers to uphold the dead rather than the living, and to this traditional error in French politics, which delayed in the past the political resurrection of Italy, may be ascribed the misunderstandings now preventing France and Italy from joining in a march towards one purpose."

The writer expresses a desire that an international history of France and Italy should be written. The time has come for the historian to look behind the princes, causes of past wars, to the people who bore the brunt. Homage may be rendered to patriotic sentiment without precluding an equitable appreciation of the enemy of a day. Such a history would render a war hateful between two nations who have so much in common. Italy has borrowed much from France. In her administrative, judicial, financial, military, and scholastic administration it is the French mode that prevails. Geographically, too, the countries have links. Provence is the intermediary. If there were no political frontiers between Provence and Italy, the transition from one to the other would scarcely be perceptible. "The Italians of Florence speak as well as the Parisian [better, we should say] the Provencal tongue with its numerous dialects that have given such poetical opportunities to the Félibres." Yet M. de Gubernatis does not hesitate to decide the question of Nice French or Nice Italian. Sentiment apart, and considering only the interests of the people, he acknowledges that Nice is more at home than it would be under Italian influence. This acknowledgment is followed by the remark that if Nice has resisted five centuries of loyalty to the house of Savoy to become French, a single century of French dominion in Alsace does not prevent Germany from claiming that province as hers. He continues:

"The unity of Italy and that of Germany, to which France contributed, intentionally or not, have turned against her. The fact is to be regretted, but not because what is a boon for Germany and Italy is an evil for France, but because France has not had the good sense to embrace these two resurrected nations as soon as they rose up. Neither Italian unity nor German unity was a cause of alarm to France."

Had she behaved quietly towards her two neighbors, the author thinks that she would have attracted to herself all their sympathies and all sorts of benefits.

Treating of Colonial France, De Gubernatis offers parallel advice to France and Italy. More is gained by being in accord with neighboring nations than by constant discord, and it is better to refrain from future conquests and administer more wisely what is in hand. He is of opinion that Italy would be the best colony for Italy. Cleared, cultivated, and enlightened, it might be a promised land better than the Eldorados her immigrants seek elsewhere; but since colonization has opened to Italy a new field in Africa, he asks for encouragement so that she may link Europe with Sudan through Massowah.

A good third of the volume is devoted to Paris, in order to prove that the capital of France is not falling into decadence. This essay appears foreign to the object of the book—perhaps from the way it is presented. As an example, the writer, who is supposed to view the Paris of to-day, wanders into reminiscences of the salons of Mme. Mohl and Mme. d'Agoult—interesting reminiscences, no doubt, but likely to be voted superfluous by the reader seduced by De Gubernatis's theory that an alliance between France and Italy would lead to his ideal triple alliance, which, in addition to the two aforesaid countries, would include Germany. They could well have been spared to make room for a better appreciation of the evolutions taking place in Paris life.

Impressions and Opinions. By George Moore. London: David Nutt. 1891.

SIX essays upon books and authors, six upon the drama, and four upon art make the contents of this provocative volume. Mr. Moore works a vein of his own in criticism; he holds opinions of an uncompromisingly modern cast, and he applies them practically without much respect to persons or traditions. He writes like one who makes enemies easily and without any regret; he seems to have a fancy for a pretty quarrel, and he is much more interesting in his remarks upon the contemporary theatre and upon art than in those upon literature, where his pugnacity has less play. The literary criticism is, in fact, commonplace, except when it is erratic; it is no more than a succession of short book-reviews strung into an article on Balzac or Turgeneff, keeping close to the characters and growing wearisome with detail; and mainly it is craft-criticism—what one novelist has to say of the work of another. At the end of the paper on Balzac Mr. Moore expresses himself by saying, "As I understand criticism more as the story of the critic's soul than as an exact science, I confess that I would willingly give up 'Hamlet,' 'Macbeth,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' etc., for the yellow books." Perhaps if he had put more of the "story of his soul" into the paper, he would have illustrated this theory in a way which would have permitted some examination of it; but as he has already published his 'Confessions,' he may have thought the repetition of them in the critical form unnecessary. Meanwhile all we really learn is that personally he prefers Balzac to Shakspere, which is not a matter of great consequence.

An erratic critic, however, sometimes does a service by directing attention to little-known authors whom he has undertaken to patronize. Being an oddity himself, he has an affinity for oddities, in accordance with the gregariousness of cranks; and in literature a habit of eccentricity in one's self goes far towards the appreciation of eccentric writers. Mr. Moore takes pride in having been the first to introduce the French poet, Verlaine, to English readers—he indulges in much self-esteem on this account; and he returns to the modern Villon in this volume with effusion. He says plainly enough that Verlaine is a very malodorous person; he describes him as a kind of human beast, and the account of the single interview he had with the prodigy is nauseating. Here he couples him with Rimbaud, the young poet whom Verlaine, being his intimate friend, stabbed, and so was sent to jail for a while. They were both bad enough, but Rimbaud was converted, and, after a fruitless effort to draw Verlaine from his sins, immured himself in a convent on the shores of the Red Sea, where he is said still to be digging the soil in pursuit of grace. Verlaine remained the scamp he had always been, and continued to write verses, many of them of a religious sort. Mr. Moore says that the poems of this precious pair are great. We cannot better exhibit his attitude than by the following extract:

"Verlaine knows English very well, and he deeply regretted that he had not the necessary money to take him straight to Lord Tennyson, so that he might obtain permission to publish a volume of translations. I went to the Macmillans and asked them if the matter could be arranged, but I heard no more of it. Lord Tennyson has, therefore, missed being translated by one who in a sense is greater than he."

Could anything be more delightful, in the unfailing comedy of the hobby-horse, than this?

We let Mr. Moore's literary criticism go; but in dealing with the theatre, and more particularly with art, he is as original without being quite so antic in his disposition. The condition of the English theatre from the point of view of the literary play-writer is held up to scorn, playfully but vexatiously enough to the authors and actors. The amateurishness and materialism of the stage are dwelt on, and the secret of the literary paralysis of the

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drama is said to be the "three-hundred-night run," in the main. But Mr. Moore is not content with smiting the present actors, hip and thigh, upon the boards; he has a word to say of their "reminiscences," and, not to delay with their fertility in such "literary" works, he has more than a word to say about their entrance into society. The conclusion of his remarks is after this fashion:

"To-day the stage is as moral as it was a hundred years ago—as much so and not one jot more. The alliance between Church and stage is a subject wherewith the hypercritical may trade on the eternal credulity of mankind; the alliance between the stage and society is unfortunately a reality, and I have attempted to explain its genesis. The dramatic profession has been, is, and always must be a profession for those to whom social restraints are irksome and who would lead the life their instinct dictates. The ideal mother cannot be the great artist. The ancients knew this well, and did not waste time in striving to unite the cradle and the *chef d'œuvre*. And since, in the eternal wisdom of things, we must find a place for vice as well as for virtue, for the Bohemian as well as the housewife, I believe that little will be gained by emptying the *coulisse* into the drawing-room and the drawing-room into the *coulisse*.

But perhaps the most important part of this theatrical criticism is that which describes the Théâtre Libre, and calls for the establishment of a similar institution in London (now partly realized) as the best means of encouraging new play-writers of original ideas and some literary pretension.

The essays upon art deal with the quarrel between the *Salon Julian* and Meissonier, with which our readers are sufficiently familiar, and with "Art for the Villa," Degas, and the pictures recently acquired at high prices by the National Gallery. The last subject may be dismissed with the remark that Mr. Moore does not approve of the purchases in general. Degas is very handsomely treated. Like Verlaine, he is one of Mr. Moore's fads. The essay is really interesting, and is successful in giving a vivid impression of the artist and his work. There is some side-thrusting at Whistler, too, not too inimical for pleasure in the on-looker. According to Mr. Moore, Degas is so much sharper in repartee and phrasing than Whistler is that the latter is distinguished, when the two meet, for "flashes of silence." There is nothing better among the anecdotes than this passage, which brings the two together with Manet:

"He [Manet] would say, 'You, Degas, you are above the level of the sea, but for my part, if I get into an omnibus and some one doesn't say, "M. Manet, how are you? Where are you going?" I am disappointed, for I know then that I am not famous.' Manet's vanity, which a strange boyishness of disposition rendered attractive and engaging, is clearly one of Degas's happiest memories; but all the meanness of *la vie de parade*, so persistently sought by Mr. Whistler, is bitterly displeasing to him. Speaking to Mr. Whistler, he said: 'My dear friend, you conduct yourself in life just as if you had no talent at all.'"

This mention of Manet reminds us to add that the glimpse of him given in connection with the Vandyke purchased by the National Gallery is the most pleasing and simple passage in the book. Mr. Moore spent two years in his studio, and in speaking of his old master for once he forgets himself. The remaining artistic essay, "Art for the Villa," is suggestive and well worked out. He starts from the opinion that the villa is the feature of this age, as the palace and the cathedral were of the last few centuries; and he then insists that it is folly to adorn the villa with statuary and oil paintings, which belonged to the older architectural ground of art. Let us have etchings, drawings, bronzes, and in general the *bibelot*, in place of the older and grander things, and not try to live with the "Mona Lisa" and the "Ariadne" always before our eyes. Would we wish, he asks, "a perpetual performance of 'Hamlet' or 'Tristan und Isolde'?" Then he goes on to speak of Whistler and the artisan-artist, and the sense of the value of material for its own sake as well as for its ornamental form, and the remainder, as was to be expected, with the same extravagance and all too easy cleverness that impair the seriousness of his whole book, but with a certain amount of the common sense that serves him except when he writes "the story of his soul." This last group of essays gives a stronger impression than the earlier ones that the author's eccentricities may not swallow him up.

Sir Robert Peel. By Justin McCarthy, M.P. Harper & Brothers.

Peel. By J. R. Thursfield. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

THE first of these volumes is one of the biographies of the Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria edited by Mr. Reid. The life of Sir Robert Peel ought certainly to have been one of the most interesting of the series, and it is therefore to be regretted that Mr. McCarthy has done scant justice to his subject. He has, indeed, shown how important an influence Peel exercised over the minds of his colleagues and over the course of political affairs, but he fails to appreciate the reason of that influence. He speaks slightingly of Peel's scholarship; and though he quotes Byron's remark that when they were boys together at Harrow every one predicted a great future for Peel, he makes no mention of the fact that Peel was the first who ever obtained what is called at Oxford a *double-first*, that is, a first-class in both classics and mathematics. It was this excellent training of a naturally versatile intellect which enabled him to master the most complex questions, and by superior knowledge to impose his views upon men of decided character, like the Duke of Wellington. He was not a man who formed his opinions rapidly. On the contrary, his final judgment on two of the most important measures with which his name is inseparably connected, namely, Catholic Emancipation and the abolition of the Corn Laws, was arrived at after some years of discussion and investigation. But his colleagues, even when they hesitated to follow his lead, were compelled to admit that his knowledge of the question at issue was infinitely better than theirs; and, having once taken his stand, he had the courage to face all the pains and penalties attaching to changes of political opinion in the effort to carry out what he believed to be the true policy.

The resemblance between Peel and Gladstone has often been pointed out; and it is a curious fact that in 1829, soon after Peel had carried Catholic Emancipation, Gladstone, then an undergraduate and a high Tory, moved in the Oxford Union a vote of censure against the Minister. Not many years afterwards, however, he was working out the problems of free trade under this same Minister; and undoubtedly the elder statesman had something to do with moulding the opinions of the younger. Both were excellent classical scholars, and posterity will probably decide that both have excelled in financial and fiscal legislation. Unfortunately, Mr. McCarthy does not give much attention to these matters. He does, indeed, refer to Peel's chairmanship of the Committee on the Resumption of Specie Payments in 1819, when he delivered himself of the sound doctrine that "the true standard of value consists in a definite quantity of gold bullion"; but he does not even mention the Bank Charter Act of 1844, generally known as Peel's Act. In the light of subsequent events, opinions may differ as to the wisdom of that Act, but it was certainly one of the most important measures of the day, and no biography of Peel can be considered adequate which passes it over in silence.

Aside from these graver faults, the reader will observe in this volume some minor defects which seem to indicate haste and carelessness. Dates, for instance, are used with the utmost economy, and the reader is left to judge of the duration of ministries and many other matters by the light of knowledge acquired elsewhere. Even Peel is spoken of as *Sir Robert* twenty years before he succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father.

It is unfortunate for Mr. McCarthy that Mr. Thursfield's 'Peel' should have appeared at this time, as a comparison between the two biographies is inevitable, and the verdict must certainly be in favor of the latter. It is superior to Mr. McCarthy's work in every point, and it is specially explicit and satisfactory in regard to the particular matters which he has neglected. Thus, Mr. Thursfield gives an interesting account of Peel's free-trade budgets of 1842 and 1845, which made possible the enormous expansion of English manufactures in the following thirty years; and he very truly says of the great speech in which Peel introduced the Bank Charter Act of 1844, that it remains to this day the most authoritative exposition of the principles of the British currency system. According to Mr. Thursfield, Peel's most important defect was that, while he had a clear insight into the condition of affairs at the moment, he lacked political foresight. He possessed, however, the faculty of taking infinite pains—which, if not genius, is an excellent substitute for it—and his views were favorably modified by the logic of facts, which he took infinite pains to collect and investigate.

Primitive Folk: Studies in Comparative Ethnology. By Élie Reclus. Scribner & Welford. 1891. 8vo, pp. xvi, 339.

IT has been the habit of returning travellers to relate marvellous tales. In earlier times society might well consider itself defrauded should a traveller bring back from foreign lands no story of terrible or extraordinary animals or natural phenomena; no relation of barbarous, filthy, or abnormally singular practices on the part of the inhabitants. To be thrilled by travellers' tales afforded a pleasant and innocent excitement to the blasé townsman and unsophisticated villager alike. It cannot be said that travellers have ever proved unresponsive to these demands. No traveller is known to have existed so poor in experience (or imagination) as not to have provided some aliment for this appetite, some story, if not true, at least *ben trovato*.

Naturally, the ways and manners of savages afforded abundance of unexpected and surprising items for such chronicles. Misinterpreted and misunderstood in almost every instance, the ethics of the barbarian, sufficiently peculiar in themselves, became incoherent and chaotic. Stories told at second hand by credulous or too imaginative travellers often proved more "juicy" than such as were the fruit of direct observation. All these things, tinged with the mental coloring of the narrator and modified to suit the prevalent literary taste,

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the public appetite for horrors, or the pious zeal of sectarians, were often preserved for posterity in print. Now in these latter days comes the closet ethnologist or historian of native races. He desires to make a book which shall interest and instruct, and, above all, shall sell. With tireless industry he delves in old books of travel for interesting and instructive tidbits. Naturally, the result is a mosaic of cock-and-bull stories, which are always interesting and seldom true, set in a framework of more or less uninteresting fact.

To illustrate the process, a case may be cited. In a recent work of great erudition and untiring scissor-work, it was deliberately stated that a favorite dish of the inhabitants of the Island of Kodiak was composed of bear's dung. As this seemed somewhat improbable, and as the reviewer happened to know that the only objurgation or analogue of a curse afforded by the language of these people is the imperative "May you eat dung," he set himself to discover the source of this libel upon an unoffending tribe of Innuit. After tracking the story a little way, it appeared that it was deer and not bear that was the original animal referred to; and, to be brief, that the whole resolved itself into the well-known habit of northern tribes of using as a sort of salad the dry, clean buds which the reindeer accumulates in his anterior paunch, to the amount of a peck or so, before they are regurgitated and masticated in chewing the cud. Any one who has ever handled this material knows that there is nothing unclean or offensive about it, any more than in the case of honey. Yet the "bear's dung" reappears in the present volume, and is likely to appear in similar compilations as long as a public demand for such anecdotes is believed to exist.

The author of the book under review is one of that prolific family of which the geographer, Élisée Reclus, is the most distinguished member. If we mistake not, the French original was published some years ago. The translation is fairly good, if it does give us "marine mares" for "sea-horses" in one place. There is a great accumulation of facts in the book, set forth with a good deal of literary dexterity. Among these facts are many errors, some egregious blunders, and countless misconceptions. The chapters are of unequal value; those derived from comparatively few and modern sources, like that on the Todas, are the more accurate, those from more ancient the reverse.

As a whole, it seems to us that the pictures of primitive people which are gathered in this volume are distorted, sensational, and often grossly unjust, while the bias of the author is distinctively and aggressively antichristian. There is also a pruriency in the dwelling on certain aspects of savage life which, in our opinion, renders the book undesirable reading for the young, as well as more or less unacceptable to adult readers of taste. But, even if we waive all literary criticism, it is obvious, in the light of modern research, that a book of this class cannot fail to be more or less misleading in direct proportion to its inclusiveness, and this without calling in question the honesty or faithfulness of the compiler. No one without personal experience of the daily life of savage people, as well as high qualifications in comparative ethnology, is fitted to generalize on the life of even a single tribe, much less to pass judgment on the probable truth of hasty observations, generally made by unscientific travellers, indiscriminately assembled from the literature of a century and a half.

Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune-Telling. Illustrated by Numerous Incantations, Specimens of Medical Magic, Anecdotes, and Tales. By Charles Godfrey Leland. Copiously illustrated by the Author. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

THIS handsome volume professes to have sought for the element of truth in gypsy sorcery and superstition in "a rational and philosophic spirit," and also to present illustrations of the author's remarks "in a manner which will prove attractive to the general reader." The last may be conceded more easily than the first. Mr. Leland's idea of scientific and historical proof is decidedly deficient, and his incoherent and self-contradictory style is enough to bring a more correct idea to grief. As a collector of curious bits of information within the lines of what he has made his specialty, he finds better success. Everything is fish that comes to his net, and one authority is as good as another for him; moreover, he is constantly breaking through his own classifications. Yet his work betrays great industry and wide reading, and must be regarded as a considerable addition to the literature of his subject. The "copious illustrations," it ought to be said, consist almost solely of tail-pieces and initial letters.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Atkinson, Rev. J. C. Forty Years in a Moorland Parish: Reminiscences and Researches in Danby in Cleveland. Macmillan & Co. $3.25.
Beckford, W. The History of the Caliph Vathek, &c. Ward, Lock & Co. 75 cents.
Century Dictionary. Vol. V. Q—Stro. The Century Co.
Holland, H. S., and W. S. Rockstro. Memoir of Madame Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt, 1820–1851. 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons. $7.50.
Jacobs, J. George Eliot, Matthew Arnold, Browning, Newman: Essays and Reviews from the *Athenæum*. London: David Nutt.
Johnson, R. B. Essays and Poems of Leigh Hunt. 2 vols. Macmillan & Co. $4.

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